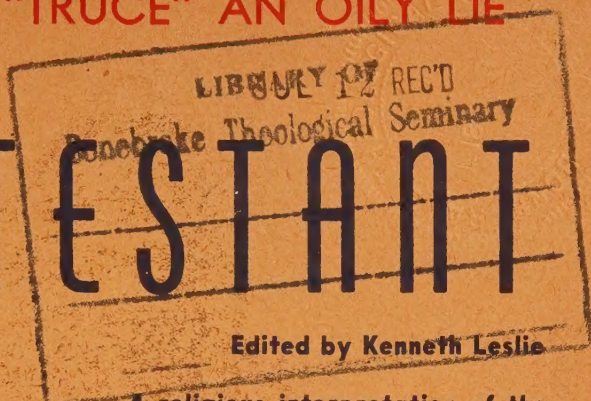


WHY WE BOYCOTT BRITAIN
PALESTINE "TRUCE" AN OILY LIE

THE

PROTESTANT

JUNE-JULY, 1948



Edited by Kenneth Leslie

*A religious interpretation of the
world's march to democracy.*

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twenty-five cents

(thirty-five cents in Canada)



THE PROTESTANT

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THE PROTESTANT is published bi-monthly
by PROTESTANT DIGEST, Inc.

Editorial and Executive Offices

at 128 Manhattan Avenue, New York 25, N. Y.

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By subscription only.

12 issues \$3.00; 24 issues \$5.00 in the United States and South America.
25c per copy. 25c additional postage in Canada and foreign countries.

Reentered as second class matter March 24, 1947, at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Printed in U.S.A.

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The National Committee of Protestant Associates, under the Chairmanship of John Hammond, is a voluntary group of laymen assisting in the publication of THE PROTESTANT. Contributions for this purpose should be made to the order of John Hammond, Trustee.

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VOL. VIII

JUNE-JULY, 1948

No. 1

CLEAR THE WAY FOR WALLACE

And Other Editorials by KENNETH LESLIE

WHETHER you know it or not, you are in the midst of a civil war here on this continent, a civil war more important to the destiny of mankind than the war between the states.

It is good it has started. We were afraid we might go down like France without a struggle.

Until the appearance of Henry Wallace's opposition party it looked as if we would enter upon a career of imperialist fascism without one word of protest from the millions of honest Americans who repudiate such a career.

The fact that so many Americans detest and abhor fascism is

due to the strength of the tradition of Jeffersonian democracy in the hearts of our people. But without Wallace as a symbol and as a leader the voices of this tradition would have been singled out and destroyed, as indeed they were being destroyed one after the other, and the world would have marvelled at the smoothness of transition from cartel "democracy" to open fascism in America.

The oppression of the Communist Party by the government of the United States is an unmistakable sign of its disintegration as a democratic republic. The implicit upholding by the Supreme Court of a Congressional Committee's violation of the secrecy of the ballot is tantamount to a blanket endorsement of the Nazi-patterned domestic anti-Comintern which parallels the Nazi-patterned international anti-comintern set up by President Truman. The Mundt-Nixon gag on dissidence and the Taft-Hartley crack-down on labor are vital parts of this pattern.

These moves on the foreign and home fronts have been coordinated and synchronized according to a time-table well known to Hitler and Goebbels. But these Nazi leaders were merely pupils of the original clerical-fascists who developed the true theory and practice of modern fascism in the Latin countries.

Their northern pupils tried to improve on the clerical model and came a cropper. Today the clerics are listened to more respectfully. Their counsel is constantly sought and if followed might possibly stabilize for a time a form of American cartel corporative fascism. But even today they will be unable to control the destructive dynamic of cartel fascism, which, once loosed, knows no rules, no moderation, only war, pillage, slaughter.

Since our present rulers have identified democracy with capitalism and declared war on socialist countries as and when they come into being then it follows that if the nations of Western Europe freely and democratically choose Socialism and if, further, similar or sympathetic governments are formed by the long-oppressed and now awakening peoples of the Near East, Africa, India, and China, then the American hemisphere will have isolated itself, will have got itself lost, will have cut itself off from the rest of the world. That is the logical and inevitable result of the Truman-Marshall policy: the policy of trying with rifle butts to knock wrong answers into the heads of people who after centuries of agony have reached the right answers.

Forrestal, Dulles and Lovett are a new set of names on the window of a very old business. Today you can add the name of Krupp and you might as well put it at the top now, it'll save time later. The business is that of ruling vast territories and masses of people, of exploiting them and of keeping them in subjection.

This business requires (1) great skill and experience on the part of the imperialist, (2) acquiescence by the home population in the imperialist role and (3) a passive colonial population asleep in its age-old acceptance of things as they are.

Our present firm possesses neither the skill nor the experience; the colonial populations have awakened from their long sleep; and the American people are far from sold on the adventure. One of the most completely blown-up-and-ready-to-bust mistakes of those amateur imperialists is Dulles himself and his "Operation X", a counterspy soap opera transferred to the stage of the State Department's cold war in Europe. Dulles, the staunch "Christian", wants to fight "the enemy" with fair hits (loud proclamations of the four freedoms) for the audience to see and with foul blows (bribery, planted stooges, provocation etc.) for the audience not to see.

The method has been partially tried out in Italy where the Vatican, nesting mother of these methods, was a valuable aid, as of course she has been everywhere in Europe. The *Boston Herald* (April 8) had the story of how "men high in the councils of both political parties and the church" got the idea of using the American taxpayers' money to corrupt the Italian electorate.

"Expenditure of the money throughout Italy to influence votes represents the type of activity which Dulles would entrust to his peace time secret operators," the *Herald* reports and goes on to describe the plan for "an American corps of overseas operators. Some would work openly, preaching the democratic doctrine through the press, radio, movie and lecture platform. Others would spend funds secretly, organizing anti-Communist unions and societies, engaging in underground espionage in the occupied nations, rallying resistance movements through Eastern Europe and generally seeking to touch the flame to smouldering anti-Communist sentiment around the world."

"Operation X" is not only abysmally stupid. It is anti-Christian and criminal. The Federal Council of Churches will certainly be forced to repudiate such a Machiavellian guide.

In the meantime our tycoons and their court scribes keep the American nation in a recurring war sweat. The Lippmanns and the Alsops no less than the Hearstlings lace their tea with blood. Another staunch "Christian", Luce, is feeding raw meat to his writing zoo. All our approved and respectable statesmen are championing the bit of imperialist war. And the brass hats are dreaming hopped up atomic pipe dreams.

The question is how long will it take our people to wake up to the fact that *conditions have changed*. We hope it won't take longer than November 1948, because as time goes by our satraps and

gang chieftains all over the world are taking a licking. We are getting licked in China. We are getting licked in Greece. So badly that we let *our* Greek fascists kill one of our own journalists with impunity. We are trying now in Western Europe to pull the same stuff we pulled in China, Greece and Turkey. The Turks are holding us up for more money. That is an easy trick. All they have to do is pretend they are going to make friends with Russia and Uncle Sam antes up. More dough down the rat-hole.

They used to say Uncle Sam was a sucker; he was too good-hearted. They don't call him a sucker anymore but they don't say he is good-hearted anymore either, not in Greece when they are lined up against the wall and shot. Not in Palestine where boys die every day because we hadn't the guts or honor to stand by our word. The Greek partisans are at least five times as numerous and hold more territory than they did in 1943 when they were fighting five German and seven Italian divisions. We are licked in Greece.

Lippmann complains that we will have either to disown our puppets and take our licking or support them at an incalculable cost. That is exactly the situation in Greece today, in Turkey today, in China today and it will be exactly the situation in the Western Union tomorrow.

This Western Union European Federation is Belgium and the Belgian Empire, Holland and the Dutch Empire, France and the French Empire and the Vatican which is the holy cement that holds them all together and binds them close to the Roman Catholic part of Germany. We are going to take a licking in the Western Union because the cement doesn't work as it used to and the people over there know they will be the first to fall in any war with Russia. They learned about fascism in the school of hard knocks.

All Belgians are not for the Belgian Empire nor are all Hollanders or Frenchmen for their Empires and will be still less when they realize that they are merely collecting agents for American cartel imperialism.

People far from these shores, with short-wave radios must have smiled sourly to hear Allen Dulles a while ago stuttering hysterically about freedom on the Town Hall meeting. The people of Indo-China and of the Dutch East Indies and of the Belgian Congo know more about those Dulles boys and what they represent than we do here in America. When a speech is made in the United Nations Assembly voicing the aspirations of these no longer distant people, it doesn't take more than a matter of minutes before that speech is printed in bold letters and read by the exploited victims of these Empires, and out beyond the nylon curtain which surrounds America the people who read it will be given fresh hope,

their glands re-activated, their muscles strengthened and their minds sharpened. Not for a minute do they intend to play their ancient role as slaves of Empire.

So in Asia, in Western Europe, and here on this continent what we are building up is a civil war between the right and the left, the left being the anti-imperialist forces and the right being the imperialist fascist forces. The U. S. A. is throwing its lot in with the right. The Big Shots are trying their darndest to be smooth about it. Decorous is the word, but when the House of Representatives voted aid to Franco the other day it was exactly as if John Foster Dulles, Herbert Hoover and Ernest Bevin had gotten up in view of the whole world and dropped their striped pants to the platform. Europe saw, Asia saw, Africa saw and that middlewest farmer and the worker in our cities, despite the streamlined propaganda to divert his attention caught a glimpse of it too.

Did you know that people in Europe are wearing Wallace buttons? Wallace is coming to represent all the people everywhere who believe in One World as well as the American who believes in One World. That American is gathering and he is talking. He has a symbol, the rugged face of Wallace; he has a voice, the honest speech of Wallace. Wherever the symbol and the voice go, more and more gather around. Like a magnet Henry Wallace draws to him all the real American elements who will grow and avalanche until his voice which is their voice will be heard throughout this nation and throughout the world.

It is up to us, whatever creed or race we belong to, to you and me, to *clear the way for Wallace*, to clear the way for the greatness of America so that the old clean America may re-assert herself and use her strength and wisdom, not to trample and exploit but to liberate and to serve, to *clear the way for Wallace*, who if he can lead his people and the world into the paths of peace will deserve the gratitude of humanity as no other man in the history of this country or in the history of the world.

IS "THE PROTESTANT" RELIGIOUS?

A YEAR or so ago a question was raised in Washington as to our tax status. The question boiled down to whether or not we should be recognized as a religious magazine. We had been classed as such since 1940.

The Rev. Chester Hodgson, pastor of the Centenary Methodist Church, Newark, wrote to a number (less than 20%) of our subscribers among the clergy asking how they felt about it.

Over a hundred ministers answered, all of the opinion that *we are a religious magazine*. We have only space for a few excerpts from their letters which we print at this time so that they may know each other's position in this matter, vital as it is to our future.

"I first came to know this magazine in 1940 and since then I always wholeheartedly supported it for I knew it was the work of a religious organization which fearlessly has taken its place in the forefront to preserve our traditional American guarantees for democracy."

Rev. Daniel A. Bennett
The Methodist Church
South Meriden, Conn.

"Those who wish to stop the mouth of THE PROTESTANT are like those who desire to silence their consciences. It makes it easier and cheaper to sell their socio-religious propaganda, such as, for example, the support of Franco and Spanish fascism."

Rev. Karl Baehr
United Congregational Church
Chicago, Ill.

"If you are not a religious magazine I do not know what you are.

"The only thing that could be said about you which some people might not like, is that you are completely independent and fearless. It is true you have fought anti-Democratic, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-Protestant ideas in this country and throughout the world. But the task of fighting these influences is predominantly a religious one and I should say you are in the forefront of the forces that are desperately needed in this country today."

Rev. James A. Mitchell
St. Paul's Church (Episcopal)
Englewood, N. J.

"THE PROTESTANT in my estimation has been and is a bulwark for democracy and the rights of all groups under the Constitution."

Rev. H. G. Burgess
Retired Methodist Preacher
El Monte, Cal.

"Personally, I use THE PROTESTANT as a religious background for my own parish and pulpit work. Its insistent demands for truth, its passion for social justice, its clarion call for a world under

God's guidance are examples (all too rare) of religion at its best."

Rev. Emerald L. Olson
First Congregational Church
West Chicago, Ill.

"I have been a consistent reader of THE PROTESTANT for a number of years, and know of the fine work it has done in the field of progressive Christian and Jewish faith."

Rev. Albert W. Kauffman
First Congregational Church
Corunna, Michigan

"This publication is without a doubt a significant influence in the religious and moral life of our nation."

Rev. Ralph P. Blatt
First Baptist Church
Joliet, Ill.

"THE PROTESTANT'S readers regard it as a champion of religion in its most noble aspects."

Rev. Otto Brand
Merillon Neighborhood Reformed
Church
Garden City Park, L. I.

"THE PROTESTANT is a religious force—purely a religious force—of greatest value to American life."

Rev. John W. Beardslee, Jr.
Theological Seminary
Dept. of the New Testament
New Brunswick, N. J.

"If THE PROTESTANT is not a religious organization, I would like to know what a religious organization is. It is not simply an individual religious organization, but it is definitely a mouthpiece of Protestantism."

Rev. Stephen Cunliffe
Blakely Baptist Church
Olyphant, Penn.

"I have been a subscriber to THE PROTESTANT magazine for a number of years, and I find it a valuable aid in carrying on my work in this church with the largest Protestant membership in this state. I have found it honest and fearless in bringing to my

desk information which I need as a religious leader to carry on my work."

Rev. J. Graydon Brown
The Congregational Church
Rutland, Vermont

"From my first introduction to THE PROTESTANT as a journal of religious opinion, I have been consistently impressed by your fearlessness and your vigor, as a religious proponent."

Rev. Thomas F. Opie
Great Barrington, Mass.

"I have been a subscriber to THE PROTESTANT for a number of years and have read it faithfully. I believe that THE PROTESTANT is a truly religious periodical, fulfilling useful and essential functions."

Rev. Wilford O. Cross
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Kittanning, Pa.

"For some time it has been my privilege to read THE PROTESTANT and I fail to see how any fair minded person or persons can decide that this journal is not a religious one."

Rev. Rollin P. Gibbs
Park St. Methodist Church
Belmont, N. C.

We shall from time to time print further excerpts from letters already received, and we shall be glad to hear from other ministers to whom we did not send letters.

The question at issue is simple. Are we, as we claim, a religious periodical? Or are we, as our enemies claim, a front for a political movement?

MUNDT SAFARFI

Three ministers represented THE PROTESTANT in the popular demonstration against the Mundt Bill in Washington, the Rev. Dr. Reginald H. Bass, the Rev. Dr. J. Spencer Kennard, Jr. and the Rev. Dr. James Murdock Palmer. Dr. Bass made the invocation at the Civil Rights mass meeting. Dr. Palmer spoke at length with Jack Martin, Taft's representative and made it clear that not only the ministers of THE PROTESTANT whom he represented but

the ministers of the Northern Baptist Convention (750,000 church members) whose views he represented were firmly and unalterably opposed to any legislation such as the Mundt Bill because it would gag the preacher who dared to criticize the foreign policy of the country.

For Baptists, particularly, who pioneered the separation of church and state and the autonomous freedom of the pulpit, such a gag would be intolerable.

"You haven't enough jails to hold us all," said Dr. Palmer. Martin allowed that he was quite surprised. "I didn't know ministers bothered about such things," he said. To which Dr. Palmer replied, "There are lots of things you will learn about free church ministers if these attempts continue to place un-American restrictions upon free speech in the name of Americanism."

The Mundt bill may be shelved. If it is the American people will breathe a sigh of relief, and one of the actions which will have helped to bring it about was the safari to Washington by over 10,000 American citizens.

WHY WE BOYCOTT BRITAIN

PALESTINE TRUCE AN OILY LIE

Since the UN partitioned Palestine and set up a Jewish State the only great power which has been consistent in its attitude has been the Soviet Union. Britain has sabotaged the UN decision on the ground that she could not offend her Arab friends whose oil she was exploiting and whose bases she needed in case of trouble with Russia.

The United States has backed and filled, attempting to play along with the British while not offending American Jewry.

THE PROTESTANT has initiated and is carrying out a Boycott Britain campaign. This does not mean that we are naive enough to believe that America has no responsibility for the things that Britain is doing. We fully believe that the Foreign Office works under what amount to effective orders from the State Department.

In carrying out a common policy in the Near East, a policy for which Washington is ultimately responsible, a certain picture has to be presented to the world. In this picture Britain is the goat. She takes the blame for all the villainy. In another part of the world, Greece for instance, or China, America will be the goat and take the blame. This is fair enough during a period when two empires work together.

It looks to us as if the British-sponsored "truce" in Palestine was colluded in by Britain and America.

Mr. T. O. Thackrey in an editorial in the *New York Post* June 16, said, "Bevin would never have dared embark on his bitter war of extermination against Palestinian Jews if he had not been led to believe that President Truman's statements [recognition of Israel] were merely for domestic political consumption and would not be translated into decisive action." This, of course, is true but actually Bevin and Truman have little to do with the inexorable purposes of the Foreign Office and of the State Department.

Britain sponsored in the UN the "truce" during which she not only continues her blockade which works special hardship against the Jews but she diverts oil from Haifa and eases the "blockade" of the UN against Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan and the rest. It is clear that the Foreign Office wants the Jews either out of Palestine or destroyed. Therefore it is also clear that the State Department wants the same thing. Why do they want this?

THE PROTESTANT believes that both the State Department and the Foreign Office are under great pressure from the Vatican both directly through special agents in the personnel of those bodies and in various other ways. The very existence of the Papacy depends upon the fulfillment of the present common policy of the State Department and the Foreign Office: the destruction of the Jewish State and the continued dispersion of its people.

Attention given to papal allocutions by the press of America, the adulation of papal emissaries and representatives, the close collaboration between the State Department and the Vatican in the recent corruption of the Italian electorate, the indirect use of the Roman Catholic orders for the purposes of espionage in countries outside the American sphere—all these well-known facts add up to a gigantic well-known fact that is not known at all, just as sometimes people with a deadly disease simply will not recognize its existence. The Western world refuses to recognize the paralysis of commercial superstition which creeps ever nearer to its heart.

The Palestine "truce" is an oily lie. By "oily" we mean not only the oil that comes out of the ground but the oil of bribery and the "holy" oil of superstition. Also the lubrication of diplomatic double-talk.

Nearly everybody knows that the feudal chiefs of the Arab states are paid off by British and American oil companies. Most people think that the Arabs *naturally* hate the Jews and *naturally* object to a Jewish State. This is the first oily lie. The Semitic Arabs have been "sold" anti-Semitism just as Americans have been "sold" anti-Sovietism. There is nothing "natural" about any of it.

The second oily lie is that the Jewish State is *naturally* pro-Soviet. The Jewish State is like any industrial state. It has the same internal tensions and factions.

On the birth of this State the ministers of THE PROTESTANT sent this telegram of congratulation to its first president, Dr. Chaim Weizmann:

"The ministers of THE PROTESTANT who have during the past decade fought for the Zionist cause as well as for the Jewish franchise throughout the world hail the birth of the new Jewish State and you, its first president, whose eyes have seen the fruits of your long labors. Our feelings of deep joy in the attainment of the Jewish nationhood are mingled with apprehension. The enemy is at the door, powerful and insidious. The Arab fights for him, but he is not the Arab. The British betray their own greatness for him but he is not the British. Even the oil interests are but a front for him. The enemy is, as he has always been down through the centuries, political Christian imperialism. THE PROTESTANT has kept him in focus. He must be forced into the open where the light of reason and justice will destroy him. We as Christian clergymen, speaking from within Christendom, are in duty bound to tell the truth; political Christendom stands in the way of reason and justice and democracy. The present danger to the Jewish State comes directly from this enemy whose camouflaged agents operate in every chancellery in the Western world. He must be fought and defeated in the councils of the United Nations which is the organization directly responsible for the protection of the new State of Israel."

The Revs. Erwin Gaede, Boise Dent,
George Conner, Paul J. Folino,
J. Murdock Palmer, William T. Baird

Then we read in the newspapers an account of Dr. Weizmann's farewell words as he sailed from New York to England *on a British ship*.

He said the new Israel would look for its friends to the West and *would have close relations with the Vatican*. Was this wishful appeasement? Does Dr. Weizmann actually expect the Papacy to abandon the premise of its age-old claim to be the vicariate of Christ and therefore to be the natural sovereign of Christ's Homeland? Does he expect the Papacy to remain complacent while God revokes his "edict" against the Jews for rejecting the Messiah?

The Papacy is confronted once more by the Jew who makes nought of its pretensions, who indeed even ignores them entirely and goes about his business of re-building his house on the

ancestral site without even searching the deed.

In the days of Herzl, the founder of Zionism, the Papacy could be treated that way. Not today. Today the Papacy has found new friends, more powerful than any in its history and is as busy as she was at the height of her glory in every corner of the world. In no place is she busier than in the State Department and in the Foreign Office. This is admitted by all acquainted with these organizations. THE PROTESTANT asks how the Jews can be expected to survive either as a people or as a state in a world dominated by the cartels of church and industry—holy and unholy oil.

THE PROTESTANT believes that the only chance to break the Forrester-Dulles-Spellman set-up in this country is to elect Wallace as president. And one way to help elect him is to begin right now weakening that set-up *in the place where we can weaken it.*

Unfortunately the best way to break the cartel chain here in this country is to hammer on it at its weakest link where it joins on to its English section. That is the reason for our Boycott Britain campaign. We believe that the British people may soon break with Bevin and his Rome-U.S. dominated Foreign Office, that with a good push from the outside they may do it in time to avert World War III. The boycott is part of the push.

Common sense guides our blows against those economic ties which make England dependent upon cartel America and therefore dominated by cartel anti-Socialist influence.

The Socialist rulers of Britain are banking on U.S. cartel aid and are sacrificing everything (including their Socialism) to get dollars to buy American goods which they need along with much they don't need but are forced to buy by General Marshall. No doubt all this is as distasteful to Cripps and to the British people as the utterly cynical and brutal British policy of aiding pro-Nazi Arab chiefs exterminate the Jews.

Once-proud Britain is playing the low-down role of spearheading throughout the Near East the same Western superstitious fascism that murdered six million Jews in Europe and threats to finish off the remainder.

Hating Marshall and hating himself for accepting Marshall aid, Mr. Britling pockets his pride and eats his bitter ration.

But just as the war changed in 1940 from a fake war, an anti-Comintern holding operation, towards a real people's war, so today the peace is changing from a fake peace, another anti-Comintern holding operation, towards a real peace. The temper of the British people is rising against their cartel slavery. Restrictions, sacrifices they can take and make but they are asking what for? Is it to fatten the fascists and bring atom war on Britain?

The immediate political conditions attached to Marshall aid plus the indirect involvement in U. S. foreign policy all over the world plus the good political weather in the Soviet power orbit plus the shameful British-Arab attack on Israel plus the Anglo-American horror in Greece plus the House's revealing vote to aid Franco, these and a thousand other events are beginning to clarify for the people of Western Europe the exact meaning and role of the Marshall Plan within the hard core of the Truman Doctrine of war against the Soviet Union.

Britain is the goat. Her people are marked for slaughter. Her diplomacy is told under the table: You take the blame for Israel. You have no Jewish vote to contend with. Besides which . . . well, you had your day, this is the American Century, so you better do what we tell you . . . or else you won't eat, even your stinted rations you won't eat.

That's what cartel-clerical fascism says to Britain speaking through the megaphone of American Democracy.

What shall Britain answer? What must Britain do?

Britain must turn East where lay her salvation from the fascist beast in 1941 and 1942 and 1943 and 1944 and where her salvation lies today from the same beast whose coils wind about the free institutions of the Western World.

The alternative is the destruction of Protestant England, the erasure of King John's signature to *Magna Carta*, the reversal of the victory over the Spanish Armada, the end of democratic Britain, the literal breaking of England's heart . . . yes, and the conversion of the sea-girt isle into a radio-active dust heap.

It is to prevent all this that we have instituted a boycott on British imports to the U. S. A. Such a boycott if effective will precipitate the end of the Churchill era in Britain. It will defeat the dastardly plan to subvert freedom and to destroy the English Protestant Reformation.

The immediate occasion for the boycott presents itself in the acutely embarrassing situation in which the British people find themselves supporting a government coldly conniving and collaborating in an attack on the UN-established state of Israel, brave outpost of democracy in a desert of autocratic feudal slavery.

In this move we are not anti-British. The opposite. It is Bevin and Churchill who are anti-British. We must all do what is possible to save Britain from the consequences of her present criminal action. That she is only a stooge for the State Department only adds to her shame. To save her soul and to save her body England must come clean from Vatican-Wall Street contamination.

The Reverends Guy H. Frazer, Boise Dent, J. Spencer Kennard, Jr., Eliot White, Chester Hodgson, John A. F. Maynard, John Darr, Joseph Novotny picketed the British Consulate on May 26, 1948. Paid advertisements in the press carried the campaign further. We have driven cars placarded with boycott signs slowly through the streets of Greater New York. Our associate editors have gone out personally and distributed large colored posters in shops. We paraded with a tableau mounted on a sound truck—a boy represented the new State of Israel and ministers representing the Christian conscience which calls on America to break the chains of embargo and truce so that Israel can have at least the chance to fight for her life.



This Boycott Britain action began with the following cable from the editor to Sir Stafford Cripps, May 24, 1948:

"The associated ministers of THE PROTESTANT hold you in high

regard as a statesman and as a Socialist Christian leader. We have been confident that your government would follow the paths of simple justice at home and abroad. Your Foreign Office and Ernest Bevin, the minister responsible for its conduct, are at the present moment through their aid to Arab aggression against the new State of Israel moving sharply against the moral interests of Britain and in a manner prejudicial to the immediate economic interests of her hard pressed courageous people.

"The ministers of THE PROTESTANT are fully aware that governments on both sides of the water are in the grip of forces beyond their control. Therefore we must turn to the people who will be ground into dust by this insensate Frankenstein of a starvation-to-war economy.

"We cannot wait longer. Regrettable though it be, we must institute pressure from the people and therefore we shall ask the American people to cease purchasing British goods. Governments must learn that they exist to serve the people, not money, whether it be dollar or pound or denarius."

LAMP AT MIDNIGHT

Play in Three Acts, By Barrie Stavis,

Dramatists Play Service, Inc. 83 pp., 85c

Barrie Stavis' play "Lamp At Midnight" has been successfully produced in New York and is to be seen throughout the country. The vogue of this play will grow. It will become a classic. The play has now been published by Dramatists Play Service, Inc. which is headed by the famous play publisher, Barrett H. Clark, and is deeply rewarding as a piece to be read. It deals with the unending question of the relation between faith and reason, solved at least in its negative form, in Galileo's statement in Act 3, Scene 5, "If a man takes away reason to make room for revelation, he puts out the light of both."

The last scene (not given in the New York stage version) introduces Milton to Galileo. Milton is on the point of leaving for England to address Parliament in defense of the freedom of the press and he says this, "I am in politics to keep my poetry free" and Galileo says to Milton, "Tell the English scientists to carry the truth into the great new age I will not know." And Milton answers, "If we see new and great things it will be because we have been privileged to stand on the shoulders of a giant." Milton comforts Galileo who is ashamed of having denied the truth under pressure of the Inquisition's torture chamber. He tells him how

his truth has been accepted because of his great struggle. "Your truth gathers strength and numbers. Men beyond the borders of Italy have heard it. Men of science use your method as a tool, men of art use it as a prophecy." Galileo replies, "But my denial! On my knees!" Then Milton banishes the ghost of fear from Galileo saying, "You denied because you were alone, and because in spite of your Church your soul loved God."

Here the dramatist probes deeply. The love of the great artist, Stavis, understands the torment of the man caught in the pincers of life's impossible choices.

At this moment in history once more we struggle with the master of lies. In the heat of the struggle and by the very necessities of the struggle we can best refute and confound the master of lies by telling the simple truth.

Fascism serves the master of lies but many fascists think they serve the God of truth.

At times it becomes necessary to kill fascists. But the fascist's death does not refute fascism. Wherever there is a concentration of power there is a danger of fascism. This play describes such a concentration of power in the Papacy just before the dawn of the modern age. Some of us today fear the power of the Papacy which is a mere shadow of what it was in the days of Galileo. At that time the Papacy presumed to rule the world whose princes were its tools. To rule the world meant to rule the world's mind. Any changes in that mind must come through the Church and must glorify the Church and the power of the Papacy.

Stavis, through the mouth of Cardinal Bellarmine, showed how such a sudden change would destroy the system of "truth" by which the Church ruled men.

The Church was not against truth as such. Within limits which it marked out, the mind was permitted full freedom but the Church had built its power upon a series of truths, half truths, fantasies and down right lies. Most of these were connected with the "other" world, on which nobody could check. It was this "other" world, posited in the heavens, which Galileo's spyglass shattered. It was far worse than if some American historian should suddenly discover and proclaim that Abraham Lincoln was an incestuous murderer. It was literally atomic in its destruction of the world the Church had so painfully built and furnished and kept.

To read Stavis' play is to enter into a profound experience through which one may understand the tragic problems inherent in the development of the mind in the human social-political situation.

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN U.S.S.R.

By HARRY F. WARD

THE recent demands, from both political and religious sources, for a further attempt to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union suggest that the editorial discussion on that subject in the last issue of this magazine may well be carried a step further.

The basic issue in that discussion is the nature of the Soviet system and the direction in which it is moving. Is it a continuing dictatorship or a developing socialist democracy? Prof. Vlastos of the Editorial Advisory Board who started the discussion based his request for an addition to the policy of the magazine on this issue upon this affirmation: "The facts are that Soviet Russia has been a dictatorship from the very start, continues to be one, and shows no evidence of being converted to anything else in the foreseeable future." A similar statement concerning the denial of civil and political liberties is subsidiary. If Soviet Russia is a continuing dictatorship then increasing denial of civil rights necessarily follows. If however it is a developing democracy denial of civil liberties will still occur because anti-democratic tendencies are inherent in the

nature of both the state and the individual. But then they will be gradually overcome.

Prof. Vlastos holds that if his judgment about the nature and course of the Soviet Union is made explicit to the readers of this magazine the struggle for peace will be strengthened because they will be freed from illusions and wishful thinking. That can be true only for recognition of the unavoidable recurrence of anti-democratic behaviour, and knowledge of the facts concerning efforts to overcome and prevent it. What follows if the Soviet Union is a continuing dictatorship is that there is then no basis for peace. If the history of two world wars demonstrates anything it certainly makes plain the indivisibility of peace and democracy; and surely enough blood has been shed to make it plain conversely that war and dictatorship are inseparable. Facts are inexorable. The logic of history is more rigorous than the logic of the mind.

Hence the importance of the question is it a fact that "Soviet Russia has been a dictatorship from the very start"?

Two specifications are mentioned in support of this blanket

indictment — the one party system and the absence of habeas corpus. Both are true. But do they constitute a dictatorship?

The absence of habeas corpus is not peculiar to the Soviet Union. It is true for other states in Europe whose judicial process follows Roman law. The issue is minor because, as they say in the U.N. it is a procedural matter. The Soviet Union uses another procedure designed, like habeas corpus, to prevent unjust imprisonment. Whether in the Soviet Union this is as effective as habeas corpus can only be established by a comparison of a sufficient number of cases over a long enough period of time.

The existence of only one party does not make the Soviet Union a dictatorship. The determining facts are the nature of the party, its aims and behaviour. The Soviet Communist Party is not a political party in our sense of the term. It neither seeks nor holds office as a party, but it does exercise great power. It is an organization to provide the leadership to guide a people with hardly any industrial, and no democratic political, experience through the initial stages of a socialist democracy. Like the church in the vision of the writer of the apocalypse it is supposed in time to make itself unnecessary. In Soviet theory the relation of the party to the people is as different from that in a dictatorship as the Protes-

tant view of the relation of the church to the people is different from the view of Rome. The Lenino-Marxist theory of the relation between leaders and people is also as different from the dictatorship theory as that of Protestants concerning the relation of minister and people is different from that of Rome concerning the priest and the people.

Furthermore the Lenino-Marxists, knowing both history and human nature, knowing also that the besetting sin of socialist organization was the development of bureaucracy, have improved and invented devices for preventing and checking undue concentration of power. Among these is the periodical examination and cleaning of the party membership, the regular mass meetings of the personnel in all economic and cultural institutions to discuss policies and administration; the continuous checking of the operation of a governmental agency by some organization of the people, particularly a labor union. One of the tests of party officials is the extent to which they are able to draw non-party people into political, economic and cultural leadership. A system which is by nature a dictatorship does not do these things.

That the Soviet leadership system does provide soil congenial to the perennial growth of concentrated power is equally obvious. But it also contains

checks to that growth which have not before existed. All that space permits to be said about them is the general judgment based upon personal observation at the two critical periods of Soviet history, and continuous study of first hand sources from the beginning, that the net result to date is a distribution of power that is greater than the concentration; more power has gone to more people. The data to support this judgment is in two books, of which only one—*The Soviet Spirit*—is available, and in a recent pamphlet on Soviet Democracy (Soviet Russia Today, N. Y.). Confirmation can be found in a number of other non-partisan studies, from the standard work of Sidney and Beatrice Webb to Mandel's recent *Guide to the Soviet Union*. Most of all it comes from what has been done. To organize a socialist society in the Russian environment required both a concentration and an expansion of leadership. Unless the Soviet Communist party had been able from the beginning to increasingly get non-communists into leadership positions the transformation of a backward people into the first socialist state and the second great power could never have been accomplished.

The trouble with the thinking of those who set what they call "democratic socialism" over against what they call soviet dictatorship is that it remains within the terms of capitalist

democracy. They forget that socialist democracy has to make its own forms, as capitalist democracy had to; that a socialist economy cannot use the competitive political forms which the profit economy, with its class struggle, has developed. These socialist forms will no more be identical in all socialist countries than capitalist forms have been. Moscow, as Laski has reported, now recognizes that there are other ways into the socialist society than the way the Soviet peoples took.

What is common to all approaches to the socialist era is the extension of democracy to the economic area of human living. What goes over from capitalist to socialist democracy is not identical political forms but basic principles — principles of control, principles of organization. The core and the test of these is the right of the people to express and carry out their collective will. The watchwords are: All power to the people. More freedom, more equality.

There can be no dispute that the Soviet Union was founded on the basic democratic principles. When Lenin reported to an international socialist gathering concerning the first socialist state he called it a "proletarian democracy" and described it in terms of freedom and equality. A dictatorship does not speak in those terms. With us freedom came first and was to be used to gain equality. With them the

order was reversed, for historic reasons. They have achieved equality of opportunity for races and nationalities; they have gone beyond capitalist democracy in extending equality of opportunity for health and education to children and equal vocational opportunity to women. These gains have been accompanied and followed by more freedom of expression, more freedom of religion, more freedom from want, more participation in economic and political controls by more people.

Like all Marxists they regard democracy as a developing process, in religious terms a "going on to perfection." I never heard, nor read, a Soviet authority who called their system a "true democracy". What they do say, and what every socialist should say with them, is that socialist democracy, which they claim to have, is a higher stage than capitalist democracy, because it extends democratic power to more people and to more areas of life. They know that it is imperfect and look forward to the still higher stage of communist democracy. This is described for and by their young people, and in popular expositions by educational authorities, not in blueprints but in outline to be later experimentally filled in, and always in terms of more freedom and more equality. It runs this way. In that distant day production will be so abundant that distribution of the basic neces-

sities of life will be according to need, not as now according to effort. So present income inequalities will be reduced and everyone will be free to develop whatever capacities lie within him. More freedom. More equality. A dictatorship does not teach its youth these goals.

In moving toward them the decisive step was the gaining of economic democracy through social economic planning. The center of power in the Soviet Union is each Five Year Plan, for upon that the lives and the cultural development of the people depend. Upon that center of power the people have firmly set their hands. All economists who have studied Soviet planning — Maurice Dobb of Cambridge being outstanding — agree that the participation of all the workers in the making and carrying out of the Plan is as vital and essential as that of the planning experts, the technicians, the executives. I have myself observed that in detail in my study of Soviet incentives. It is the Plan that binds the Soviet people together in such economic and political unity as capitalist democracy has not achieved.

This result is required by the nature of the machine age. For fullest possible production planning is imperative, and planning cannot be effective unless it is planning of, by, and for the workers. They have the power to make, and to break the Plan.

Let them withhold their consent and concertedly slow down and the Plan fails, the Soviet system is wrecked. And what can the leaders do about that? Here is the completely effective check against dictatorial concentration of power. When the Soviet leaders promoted social-economic planning they knew it had to be democratic to succeed, they gave their hostages to fortune. Pyramids could be built by compulsion but not the modern economic machine. The achievements of the Soviet socialist economy, against the terrific odds it had to overcome, are the conclusive proof of the democratic health of the Soviet system and its ability to overcome any anti-democratic political tendencies.

Concerning the inter-relationship between the economic and political aspects of Soviet democracy it is significant to note that the new and completely democratic constitution of 1936, framed and adopted by as wide a popular discussion as any constitution ever received, came into being after the success of the First Five Year Plan had demonstrated the degree of unity achieved by the Soviet system. That the constitutional guarantees against the abuse of the police power which every democratic state is justified in using against a minority attempting to overthrow by direct action the decision of the majority have not been fully realized is no

proof that Soviet Russia continues to be a dictatorship. To expect a perfect pattern of democratic behaviour is as unrealistic as to claim that it exists.

Consider what is happening here after a hundred and fifty years of the Bill of Rights. The realization of the '36 Soviet constitution was slowed up the next year by the Bukharin group conspiracy and its international ramifications. It was slowed up again by the problem of counter-revolutionary elements in the areas recently returned to the Soviet Union. It will be slowed up more by the international conspiracy being organized by us as a part of the cold war. Those who want to see a faster advance of political democracy in the Soviet Union had better refrain from making sweeping generalizations about that system, that lend aid and comfort to those who want to destroy it. Their professed objective will be quicker reached if they concentrate their energies on stopping the cold war and halting the economic imperialism that war is trying to expand around the world.

The degree of recession of civil rights that has resulted from, and will accompany, these happenings cannot be known until more stable times enable the necessary research. But it is certain that despite them democratic advance goes on. In economic democracy there has been

since the war a further decentralization of planning permitting more regional control and development of local resources. There has also been the extension of consumers cooperation from the rural areas, where it has carried on practically all distribution of consumers goods, to the industrial cities and plants. On the political front there was the appearance in last year's Supreme Soviet election of the Party and Non-Party Bloc in the making of nominations. There was Stalin's announcement that the war experience had practically eliminated the difference between party and non-party. Also there was the restoration, with enlarged responsibilities, of the old village meeting, counterpart of our New England Town Meeting. The purpose was to bring more

people into political action and responsibility than are involved in the village Soviets and the collective farm councils.

Recently I received a letter from a former student who taught in the Soviet Union for eight years before the war. When it was over he went back with UNRRA in a responsible position. He remained as correspondent for one of our foreign affairs journals. He helped me with my last book. He writes as the result of his three years observations in White Russia and in Moscow that our analysis of the movement of forces was correct, and that the main lines of movement are still in the same direction. That direction was and is, despite all setbacks, the development of socialist democracy.

In his book, *1,000 Americans*, George Seldes shows big business influence in the magazine field. *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Farm Journal* and *Pathfinder* are riddled with NAM leaders. Morgan's interests are behind *Woman's Home Companion*, *American*, *Redbook*, *Time*, *Life*, *Collier's* and *Newsweek*. Hearst owns *Cosmopolitan* and *Good Housekeeping*. Circulation of these periodicals exceeds 40 million.

SECRET U.S.-IRAN TREATY

By HEINZ POL

VERY few people in this country know that there exists a military agreement between the United States and Iran that in some respects goes even farther than similar agreements with Greece and Turkey. The agreement between Washington and Teheran was concluded on October 6, 1947 and signed at the Iranian capital of Teheran by the Minister of War of Iran and by George V. Allen, at that time ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the U.S.A. Since the conclusion of the agreement neither the American nor the Iranian press or radio have mentioned the contents of the agreement and have barely hinted at its existence. In many countries of Europe, however, both before and behind the iron curtain, and also at Lake Success many informed people have been discussing the American-Iranian military agreement for many months wondering why such a thick veil of secrecy surrounds it.

On May 28, 1948, John D. Jernegen, chief of the State Department's division of "Greek-Turkish-Iranian affairs" disclosed at a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee that the government of the United States intends to send to Iran \$60,000,000 worth of weapons including tanks, guns and fighter

planes as soon as possible. Mr. Jernegen added that the military equipment to be sent to Iran would cost about \$120,000,000 if manufactured at the present time. But not even during the formal hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee did any of the participants mention the existence of the military agreement between the U.S. and Iran as far as could be seen from the newspaper reports.

The agreement of October 6, 1947 contains 25 articles. They all deal more or less with the purpose and activities of the American military mission to Iran. According to Article 1, the purpose of this mission is "to cooperate with the Ministry of War of Iran and with the personnel of the Iranian Army with a view to enhancing the efficiency of the Iranian army."

Article 8 deals with the duties of the military mission. Although it excepts from the duties those which are directly connected with strategical plans or operations "against a foreign enemy", the Article says: "The duties of the Mission shall be to advise and assist the Ministry of War of Iran and its several departments as well as subordinate sections of the General Staff with respect to plans, problems concerning organization, administrative principles and training

methods. These duties involve the principles of work of the General Staff and all departments of the Ministry of War in Teheran and their field agencies . . ."

Article 9 stipulates: "Members of the Mission will assume neither command nor staff responsibility in the Iranian Army. They may, however, make such official inspections and investigations as may be necessary and are approved by the Minister of War of Iran and directed by the Chief of the Mission."

The decisive Article 12 specifies rather clearly these far-reaching duties: "The Chief of the Mission, and other members when so directed by him, are authorized to visit and inspect any part of the Iranian military establishment, and officers in authority shall facilitate such inspections and make available plans, records, reports and correspondence as required. Members of the Mission will not concern themselves with secret matters except when it is essential to their duties and then only with the approval of the Ministry of War . . ."

The other articles are mostly concerned with technical details like payments, lodgings, transportation, etc. Of more general interest is Article 24 which stipulates:

"So long as this agreement, or any extension thereof, is in effect, the Government of Iran shall not engage the services of

any personnel of any other foreign government for duties of any nature connected with the Iranian Army, except by mutual agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Iran."

At the time the agreement was signed the dictator-like Iranian Premier Ahmad Ghavam seemed at the peak of his power and ruthlessness. But at the end of 1947 many of his followers became dissatisfied with him and in December Ghavam was forced to resign and even to leave the country. His successor Ebrahim Hakimi and a large part of the ruling classes in Iran upheld the military agreement with Washington but at the same time tried to play the oil interests of Great Britain against the military interests of the United States.

In January of this year, Anthony Eden arrived on a good will tour in Teheran. He was received with special honors by the Iranian government. The "Journal de Teheran", a semi-official organ in the French language wrote: "Iran, which has been made a political football by the two great powers, United States and U.S.S.R., now turns to Great Britain whose policy tends to prevent the creation of two irreducible blocks in the world . . . The presence of these two blocks would jeopardize the very existence of Iran, whose government is not willing to adhere to anyone. That's why

we follow with great interest the efforts of Great Britain to bridge the divergencies between the two blocks."

It is not known, yet, what Eden offered in behalf of Great Britain and whether the Iranian government accepted anything Eden may have offered. At any rate, the Iranian Premier at that particular time appeared not to be too eager in accepting an American offer of "defensive weapons" at a value of \$25,000,-000. This sudden reluctance of a country which had a military agreement with the United States and whose police and army were trained and supervised by high ranking American officers, obviously angered the American Ambassador in Iran. At the end of January in his farewell message, Ambassador George V. Allen stated rather bluntly: "All efforts to impose economic aid on a country would be vain, but countries like the Eastern European states which were forced to refuse such aid shall suffer from its consequences in the future."

At the moment a large military delegation from Iran is in Washington and in constant touch with the American authorities concerned with the immediate delivery of military weapons to Iran. Although John D. Jernegen, chief of the State Department's division of Greek-Turkish-Iranian affairs, has just disclosed that Iran would get "only" \$60,000,000 worth of

American weapons, some members of the Iranian military mission in Washington are boasting that finally they will receive much more than this amount. They further declare that several shiploads of armaments have already left American ports.

The military re-organization of Iran, which borders on the south of Russia geographically in the same fashion as Mexico does on the United States, lies in the hands of two competent American generals and their staffs. One is Brigadier General Schwarzkopf who has been at the head of the Iranian gendarmerie and secret police ever since he left the Gangbusters program years ago. The other is Brigadier General Robert W. Grow, adviser to the Iranian War Ministry. He commanded the Sixth Armored Division in World War II.

The domestic situation of Iran today is more confused and explosive than ever. The twenty odd years' old treaties of Iran with Great Britain and Russia are still valid. The present Premier is rather Anglo-phile, Ghavam in his comfortable exile in Paris, declares to everybody who wants to listen to him that he will soon be back in full power, prefers Washington to London; both men hate Russia. On top of all this, the very active American military interest in Iran complicates an already delicate situation.

"THE PROTESTANT" CONTESTS CAPITALIST MURDER

By THE REV. WILLIAM T. BAIRD

ON Monday, April 19th, the Chicago Ministerial Action Committee of THE PROTESTANT held a meeting at which ten of the ministers present agreed to go on record in support of Wallace for president.

We also decided to investigate further the strike of U. P. W. A. (C.I.O.) against the Big Four Packers.

The Rev. Mr. Clarence Parker had already taken a stand in support of the workers and had spoken at several of their rallies. He told us something of their desperate need for support and I was authorized to investigate ways and means by which we could help their cause.

This I began to do the following morning and arranged to meet with Herb March, director of the U. P. W. A. in the Chicago area, that afternoon.

I arrived at the Headquarters in the midst of a seething mass of humanity through which I had great difficulty in forcing my way. It was evident something had happened. I soon learned that a picket had been run down at an Armour gate by a 15 ton truck and was not expected to live.

He died that afternoon. During the rest of the day I listened

to man after man testify as to what had taken place at the entrance where Santos Cicardo had been killed and heard others tell of strike-breaking tactics employed by police in various parts of the city. The pattern was too plain to ignore. There was no doubt in my mind but that the police were being used in an effort to break the strike. Certainly this was not being done without the connivance of the Companies. This in itself was sufficient to indicate management's temper. In their minds the workers had forfeited all rights to their jobs except as they, the Packers, saw fit to grant—in spite of the Union contract which guarantees the worker his job if on strike in a wage dispute.

That evening and the following day I conferred with Union officials and strikers in an effort to learn exactly what had taken place at the entrance where Cicardo had been killed. I even tried to talk with policemen who had been on duty only to be told, "You'll have to go to Headquarters for the official story. We can't talk." I knew the official story. Captain Barnes had been completely exonerated, but the official account was at great

variance from that of the eye-witness pickets. This is their account of what took place.

The strike-captain had been notified that a truck was coming in at 8 o'clock that morning. By agreement with Captain Barnes the truck was to be stopped and a picket permitted to approach the truck to try to persuade the driver not to cross the picket line. At 8 o'clock the truck appeared, was stopped, and when the driver remained adamant, was permitted to enter the plant.

At 10 o'clock another truck appeared and assuming the same procedure would be followed as in the previous case, Cicardo and another picket advanced toward the truck. However at that moment Captain Barnes stepped out and waving his arms in a forward gesture ordered the driver to "Speed it up! Step on it!" which he immediately did.

The sudden burst of speed caught Cicardo by surprise and before he could leap to safety he was struck down and run over by the three sets of tires. Eye-witnesses described in detail the horrible convolutions of Cicardo as the wheels of the 15 ton truck passed over his back.

I was fully persuaded that further acts of violence would break out unless something was done to check the rising tide of tempers on both sides. I asked and received permission to picket the entrance where Cicardo had been killed. The U. P. W. A. Headquarters notified the news-

papers and photographers were on hand when we did so. The ministers responded to my call for pickets: Emerald Olson, Clarence Parker, George Halstead, Verle Blair and Richard Davis. Later Father Parker, Emerald Olson and I spoke at a special rally where we all emphasized the necessity for strikers to remain calm and reject the temptation to retaliate with violence against the Company.

Newspaper and radio accounts place the responsibility for the strike upon the Union. This is a deliberate distortion of the truth. Without going into details I will quote a passage from the Report of the Presidential Board of Inquiry, which, in itself, is conclusive evidence of the efforts of the U. P. W. A. to avert this strike—as it must also be of the determination of the Companies to discredit the U. P. W. A. by fair means or foul — the record showing that they prefer the foul. "The Union offered to settle successfully for 29 cents, for 23½ cents, and indicated at least an interest in a possible settlement at 16 cents . . . Among its other offers, the Union proposed first, to some of the companies to engage in a joint study to determine the actual living needs of packing house workers, and agreed to be bound by the results of such a study. Second, the Union indicated a willingness to extend the current contract beyond August 11, 1948 as part of a settlement

of the wage reopening dispute. Third, the Union indicated that it would postpone the strike pending the Board's inquiry if Companies would agree meanwhile to place into effect the same increase they had granted

the other two unions." April 8, 1948, Part IV.

Furthermore the Union has from the beginning offered to submit the dispute to arbitration which the Companies refused to do. This offer is still open.



Photo taken by Edward De Luga of the *Daily News*.

WORTH NOTING

—*Sidelights on the news of the day.*

By THE EDITOR

INTERESTING QUOTATIONS . . . "We must assume the responsibility of the majority stock holder in this corporation known as the world. Private enterprise must begin to evolve its foreign policy, starting with the most important contribution it can make—men in government."—*Leo D. Welch, Treasurer, Standard Oil of N. J.*

"Whatever the outcome of the war, America has embarked upon a career of imperialism both in world affairs and in every other aspect of her life with all the opportunities, responsibilities, and perils which that implies."—*Virgil Jordan, President, National Industrial Conference Board.*

"In Palestine and Trieste, the U. S. is showing itself willing not only to ignore UN, to defy it, but if need be to destroy it. From now, it looks as though the present administration in Washington will use UN not in pursuit of peace and international understanding, but as an instrument of its own national policy . . . In Palestine, the U. S. hopes still to bend UN to its will. In Trieste, it has given up that hope. Both are brutal and open displays of American power . . ."—*Victor Bernstein in PM.*

BURIED PEACE . . . Says Wallace, "Several days ago I found buried away in my morning newspaper a report by the chief of the Associated Press Bureau in Moscow. He reported that he was unable to find *any* talk of war in the Russian capital . . . Two weeks ago Howard K. Smith, broadcasting over CBS pointed out that there were no Russian troops in Czechoslovakia, in Trieste, in Italy, in Greece, or in China and he made the wise comment that 'It's pretty hard to have a war with an aggressor, if he isn't around to do any aggressing.'"

SIDELIGHT ON PRAGUE . . . "U. S. newspapers declared the government changes in Czechoslovakia to be a repetition of Hitler's conquest of that country, this time by Russia . . . One would never guess from the editorials in the *New York Times*, for instance, that its own Prague correspondent, Albion Ross, was saying in small print on another page that when Benes and Masaryk got in step with the new setup, they reflected 'the real mind of the majority of the nation.'"—*Israel Epstein in the Gazette and Daily.*

"SECRET DOCUMENTS OF VATICAN DIPLOMACY" . . .

We are informed through the Rome correspondent of the Telepress Agency, Gino Bardi, that the Vatican contributed more than 3 billion lira towards the election campaign of the Christian Democrats and other rightist parties, including neo-fascists. On the 18th of February, 1948, Monsignors Tondini and Francesco Morano presented the Pope with a project of financing daily and weekly newspapers, supporting the Christian Democrats; it was suggested that 355 million lira be distributed among 41 Italian daily newspapers and 217 weekly newspapers, including 7 new newspapers which were created for the election campaign. It is generally known in Rome that new newspapers which have begun to appear recently, including the organ of the "National Social Movement,"—"Ordine Sociale," are being financed by the Vatican.

These facts are revealed in the sensational book "Secret Documents of Vatican Diplomacy," which came off the press April 4 in Lugano. The anonymous author states that from the originals contained in the secret archives of the Vatican State Secretary copies were made which fell into the hands of a person who considered it his duty to make them known.

The book in its 560 pages reveals the intrigues which the Vatican weaves daily in Italy and also the secret alliance between Italy and the U.S.A. The author points out that the political activity of the Vatican is managed directly and personally by the Pope who almost daily arranges for political conferences with Acting State Secretary of the Vatican, Montini, General of the Jesuit Order, Jansin, and the representative of the American Jesuits, Vincent MacCormick. The Vatican since 1945 has been interfering directly in the internal affairs of Italy through the Christian Democrat party and "Catholic Action." According to the author the main activity of the Jesuits is espionage, directed against the Eastern European countries. The Vatican relays this information to the secret service of the U.S.A.

At a conference between Vatican representatives and leaders of the Christian Democrats, the Saragat group, and the Republicans, an agreement was reached as to mutual financing and general points of pre-election propaganda.

Saragat, as well as the Republicans, receives aid now and will continue to receive even more direct aid from the U.S.A. Since the Christian Democrats also receive American aid for themselves and for their allies, it was agreed to funnel these moneys through the same hands to avoid duplication.

AGENTS OF A FOREIGN POWER . . . The following quotation

is from "The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War" by Maurice Francis Egan and John B. Kennedy, published by the Knights of Columbus of New Haven, Conn., 1920, page 63:

"To expedite the processes of (ecclesiastical) investigation, and also to provide the Order with what might be termed a national patent of extension, the entire plan of organization, the Constitution, laws and ritual, were laid before Archbishop Satolli, Apostolic Delegate from the Holy See to the Catholic Church of the United States. Archbishop Satolli, after a careful examination of the matters submitted to him gave his blessing to the Knights of Columbus and thus publicly approved of the Order's existence. This blessing of the Apostolic Delegate, being expressed in writing, was a most valuable credential."

Another official publication of the Knights of Columbus called "The Knights of Columbus in the State of New York from 1891 to 1945" published by the New York State Council of the Knights of Columbus, Historical Committee, in 1945 contains the same sentences as above and adds:

"With the endorsement of the Apostolic Delegate, the Supreme Council felt that the time had come to enter upon a period of planned expansion."

ILLUSIONS OF WAR III PROSPERITY . . . According to Malcolm Hobbs in *Gazette and Daily, Business Week* magazine gives figures to show that World War III would be hell for the U. S. people.

The United States achieved industrial mobilization for war last time on top of a 1939 economy which was limping along with considerable unemployment and a continued business crisis. Production for war was a blessing . . . took up the slack in the nation's economy, eliminating unemployment, boosting profits.

U. S. economy is functioning at full steam. Unemployment is non-existent and business prosperity is at high levels. There is no slack to be taken up. Therefore, war mobilization would have to be superimposed on an economy already running at top production.

During War II, consumers had access to more goods than in 1939. "This frosting on the standard of living was used to lure people into doing the things that had to be done." If war mobilization came today there would be no frosting to use as a lure; *naked compulsion would be the only alternative.*

Businessmen would be ordered into specific production, or out of business altogether. And they would not receive the rosy profits of War II. "With the carrot gone there is nothing left but the good."

The UN Economic Commission for Europe reports "that *intra-European trade has declined sharply in 1947.*" The Dutch delegate to the Commission, Anthony Speekenbrink, who represents not only his own country but Belgium and Luxembourg as well told the Commission that Holland is facing a "serious overproduction of foodstuffs" which cannot be sold to other European nations and might well be destroyed unless means are found to export them. Moreover, Belgium and Luxembourg would like to export a surplus of steel, fertilizers, cement, window glass, textiles and machine tools, but they cannot find buyers. Benelux is in the early stages of an over-production crisis.

Donald Bell in the *Overseas News Agency* says European economy instead of being unified and established as a strong entity, is disintegrating. The problem seems no longer a lack of basic materials but a surplus. This is difficult indeed to grasp. Large areas which had been devastated during the war must still be rebuilt; there is steel and cement and window glass, but it cannot be used. Many Americans are sending gift parcels to friends and relatives, but food in Holland and textiles in Belgium are unsalable.

The Democratic and General News has this to say about ERP AND THE STEEL CARTEL . . . The Manpower Committee of the "Marshall Nations" has reported an acute shortage of workers for the most urgent jobs of restoring European economy. Five to six millions of able-bodied workers, however, are in the armed forces or supplying them. This waste of manpower—by Britain in the Middle East, by France in North Africa and Indo-China, by the Netherlands in Indonesia, to mention only a few obvious examples—is unavoidable, under the Marshall Plan. For the plan is part of American foreign policy which dictates huge armies "to contain Russia and World Communism." If the Marshall Plan were rejected, that waste could be avoided. In terms of lost production, it amounts to much more than the total Marshall allocations.

One material dominates Europe's chances of recovery—steel.

Total semi-finished steel allocations under the Marshall Plan are less than a fifth of the quantity stated at Paris to be an "absolute minimum". The State Department "revised" the Paris estimates so that much of the steel which is being supplied is going to Germany.

Not an ounce of steel-scrap is crossing the Atlantic—from west to East. The Paris Plan asked for 1,400,000 tons in 1948, rising to 2,200,000 tons in 1952. There is lots of scrap in Bizonia—Britain hoped for a million tons from this source. In March she

got 40,000 tons. American experts report they have ten million tons of steel salted away in the Zone, for the disposal of Wall Street.

\$400 million of steel-making machinery was the minimum scheduled at Paris. The State Department has cut the figure to \$192 millions. Deliveries of electrical equipment: "Postponed". Only 20,000 of the 103,000 railway cars needed will be sent—but 150,000 surplus American lorries must be taken as a "condition of sale." The Paris Plan fixed a minimum of \$1,200 millions of agricultural machinery; but only \$637 millions will be sent.

It may be argued that such shortages are inevitable, because the materials just aren't available. But this is not the case. America is sending 2½ times the quantity requested of *finished* steel (an uneconomic import. Finished steel goods should be exported by Europe, not bought.) Finished steel is a more profitable product than raw steel. American steel plant is running well below capacity; but the cartels have categorically refused to increase their output, in case a subsequent slump leaves them with "unprofitable" plant on their hands.

One of the plans applauded at Paris was a British scheme to build four giant oil refineries which would save billions of dollars. The scheme has now been brought to a standstill by shortage of steel.

Already Sir Stafford Cripps has announced twenty per cent cuts in steel for British shipyards, and countless other European industries are dying the same "death of a thousand cuts". At a time when Europe's propagandists scream for higher production, factory after factory announces cuts in its programmes and its targets—thanks to the Marshall Plan.

American big business, however, is still not satisfied. The State Department is fighting the "excessive" Paris proposals for increasing European steel production. Their E.R.P. *estimates* calculate European steel consumption for the first year at more than four million tons less than the Paris figure, and two million below for the second.

The effect of the Marshall Plan on European production, therefore, will be—to reduce it.

STRAIGHT TALK . . . George G. Sadowski, Michigan, said in the House of Representatives, March 24, 1948:

"How anyone can vote for a further expenditure to slaughter and kill off poor Chinese and Greek peasants is beyond me. Some wonder why the Chinese and Greek guerrilla forces are increasing. The answer is easy. These guerrillas are not Communists. They are opposing rotten, fraudulent, and corrupt governments

in their countries, and every time you kill a guerrilla all his brothers, cousins, nephews, and uncles take up arms to avenge the death of one of their family. I dread to think how many years it will take for us to regain the love and respect of the Greek and Chinese people. We are now hated, despised, and cursed more than the British ever were, and I shall have no part of this militaristic program, which is aimed at the subjugation of a people who are rebuilding their economy and striving to clean out putrid political governments."

CARRYING OUT INSTRUCTIONS . . . Jorge Garcia-Granados, member of the UN Special Committee on Palestine, writing in *Collier's* says that he told U. S. delegate, Herschel Johnson, that he had heard the U. S. A. was objecting to putting Uruguay and Guatemala, both of whom favored partition, on the commission.

Johnson, he said, replied, "I appreciate your speaking frankly to me and I shall be perfectly frank with you, Mr. Granados. The State Department feels that to include both you and Mr. Fabregat (of Uruguay) on the commission would arouse Arab animosity. I tell you this is not my feeling but I must carry out the instructions given me."

RUSSIAN VETO . . . H. E. Sharkey in the *Gazette and Daily* took a look at Russia's use of the veto. Here's what he came up with.

Four times the question of Franco Spain was brought up. Four times the Russians vetoed action. But the members of the United Nations had denounced Spain. Nevertheless, the United States forced continued votes on the issue.

Russia exercised the veto ten times in opposition to the admission of anti-Soviet countries to the UN. The Trans-Jordan, which is now defying the United Nations and threatening to seize Palestine was vetoed. Portugal and Ireland were vetoed three times each. Russia used the veto against Austria and Finland. Twice Russia voted against the admission of Italy.

In all these cases, Russia made her position clear at the outset. In the matter of Spain, it was a categorical negative. In the others Russia declared she would not vote to admit unfriendly states unless the rest of the nations accepted into admission friendly states.

Russia used the veto once in support of a British position and once in defense of Albania. Once Russia used the veto on a Commission for Greece, but later reversed its position.

This, then, is the basis on which President Truman, Secretary Marshall, and others have accused Russia of abuse of the veto power.

BOOMERANG AT BOGOTA

By O. I. ROCHE

BEHIND General George C. Marshall when he spoke at the Bogota Conference was a mural depicting Simon Bolivar, South American Liberator. General Marshall was telling the Latin Americans that they couldn't expect much economic help from the United States unless they accepted it in the form of private and privileged capital investments. The Latin Americans listened in cold silence. So the General departed from his prepared text, as a wise man should, and resorted to sentimental appeal. He pointed to "this magnificent painting in my rear" and linked the Liberator with our own Simon Bolivar Buckner, who fell on Okinawa.

Unfortunately, according to the story now being repeated from Buenos Aires to Mexico City, his translator made a slight mistake. He said in Spanish, "this magnificent painting on my rear". The stony-faced delegates burst into loud applause.

The tale may be apocryphal, although such translators' mistakes are not uncommon, but it was certainly at this point that General Marshall drew his lone enthusiastic response from his Latin American audience. Throughout the Conference our "Good Neighbors" remained coldly polite and aloof whenever

one of our representatives expressed Washington's official views.

Nevertheless, our delegates at Bogota achieved their three main objectives. They got their "anti-Communist" resolution, although a bit different from what they wanted; they got their guarantees for U. S. capital, although after a bitter and unfinished fight; and they got their inter-American military board, a sort of sales agency for our armament factories. On paper, at least, the Pan-American Axis was established, a fact which led Delegate William Pawley to exclaim that "I would be glad to challenge anyone who would try to define the Conference as anything but a magnificent success."

Why, then, should Samuel Guy Inman, who was an expert on Latin America before Mr. Pawley ever heard of it, declare that "the outcome at Bogota is the biggest defeat the United States ever had in Latin American affairs"? Or why should Milton Bracker of the *New York Times* wire his paper that "the reaction of independent observers certainly is that relations were not bettered and possibly were worsened"?

The truth is that at Bogota, for the first time since Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated the Good Neighbor Policy, the Latin

American countries were in general revolt. They were still cautious, as befits those who come face to face with the greatest economic and military power on earth, but in devious ways they made their opposition felt. And in significant skirmishes the Latin American delegates came out on top. Here are a few examples:

1) Despite a bitter fight and final abstention by the United States, the Latin American delegates put the Conference on record against *economic* aggression — a direct thrust at Wall Street.

2) Over the heads of the United States delegation, the Conference approved a Bolivian resolution favoring establishment of regional trade preference groups — a direct slap at Washington's trade policy.

3) With the United States abstaining, the Conference voted for "abolition by peaceful means of colonialism as well as the occupation of American territories by extra-continental countries". By differentiating "colonialism" from "occupation", the delegates obviously got in a lick against *economic colonialism*, with which the United States is charged.

4) Despite a disapproving reservation by the United States, the Conference voted to submit political as well as legal disputes to the International Court of Justice at The Hague — not a part of the Inter-American System we control.

5) The Latin American delegations, for the most part representative of anti-labor governments, nevertheless approved a "Rights of Labor" charter, including recommendation of yearly bonuses of one month's pay, while our delegation declared itself "not bound".

6) In the much-heralded anti-Communist resolution, the Latin Americans forced inclusion of a clause condemning interference "by *any foreign power* or any political organization serving its interests" in Latin America's internal affairs. This is a two-edged sword.

These six significant defeats — and there were others — suffered by our Bogota delegation are specific signs of decline in Washington's real influence over Latin America, as distinguished from the formalities written into military treaties or inter-governmental compliments. But the decline goes much deeper. In fact, if it had not been for the assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, the man who *would* have been Colombia's next president, even the formalities might never have been agreed upon, or at least, not until the United States had met some of Latin America's economic demands.

Sumner Welles quotes "one of the most widely respected Latin American statesmen" as saying that "bad as it is, the riot at Bogota may prove to be a blessing in disguise. It will probably pull us together to take effective

defense measures. And it has postponed the open clash between the United States and the other republics which seemed inevitable before it occurred".

What he meant, of course, was that cold fear had drilled into the hearts of many Latin American delegates, largely representative of conservative aristocracies, after the wild outburst of mass rage that swept Colombia after Gaitan was slain. Latin America's feudal lords, faced by growing nationalism and mass unrest, decided that they'd better keep up their alliance with United States capital for the time being, despite grave pressure against such an alliance by nationalist capital at home. But this decision merely speeds the decline of feudalism by intensifying the opposition of Latin America's growing native capitalist and mass forces, driven by the laws of economic self-preservation to take their stand against control by Wall Street. Thus any alliance with feudalism is built on sand and cannot long endure. The Bogota riots, in fact, demonstrated this weakness in a very specific case, the case of Laureano Gomez.

Laureano Gomez is the spokesman of Colombian feudalism. During the recent war, he was considered the foremost apologist for the Axis north of Argentina. In the paper he controlled, he violently attacked the United States and its allies. His Falange organization repeatedly

tried to revolt against the pro-Allied government. Yet, with the blessing of our delegation, Laureano Gomez was named to preside over the Bogota Conference. This action was a concrete demonstration to Latin America of the type of people on whom Washington relied.

The assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, which threw the Bogota Conference into turmoil and resulted in the slaughter of 1,500 Colombians, mostly at the hands of Conservative-led troops, was not unconnected with this alliance. Gaitan's killer, Jose Roa Sierra, was a member of the Falange organization founded by Gomez; he was an ex-employee of the Nazi Legation; he carried detective card No. 1100 issued by a Gomez-controlled ministry; and he was in all probability obeying orders.

No American can possibly convince himself that those orders came from anyone connected with our delegation; but Roa Sierra's relation with the Gomez group, in turn in open alliance with Washington, set in motion the scandalous report which half of Latin America is inclined to believe: that Gaitan was slain on U. S. orders as a means of frightening the Latin American delegations into accepting Washington's views at the Conference. The mere fact that such an accusation can gain any currency at all in Latin America shows how far our prestige has slipped among our neighbors.

The actions of our delegation after Gaitan was killed bolstered this rumor. Instead of forthrightly condemning the feudalistic gang which brought on the frightful slaughter at Bogota, our General Marshall, on the advice of his "slick" propagandists, hurried to place the blame on "international communism". There were fantastic statements by such types as Rep. Don Jackson of California, who told Congress after his return from Bogota that "Gentlemen, the Red Tide has touched our shores. This is war!" And then, as a fantasy of fantasies, Admiral Hillenkoetter of the Central Intelligence Agency got up and read reports from his agents in Bogota attempting to link Gaitan — the victim and the best-loved man in Colombia — to "Moscow gold". Here is an example of one of those "reports":

"Mr. G., the leading Colombian Communist . . . is reported to be the intermediary between the Soviet Legation and Gaitan, to whom he furnished money, supposedly for his Liberal movement."

That is not an intelligence report. That is an expression of opinion. It is the kind of thing that anybody who knows how to write could say about anybody else. Such phrases as "reported to be" or "supposedly" have no place in a factual report unless they are accompanied by the answer to the question, "by whom?" And even so they have

little value, except as an indication of somebody's opinions.

Yet, Admiral Hillenkoetter, in charge of our Intelligence Agency, whose reports are supposed to help determine our foreign policy, actually repeated this dribble, and added that his agents considered Gaitan to be "very close to the Communists, or at least to their doctrines—similar to Henry Wallace in our country."

Imagine the effect of such fantastic ignorance on Latin American opinion—especially in Colombia, where Gaitan was known to be far closer to Argentina's Peron than to any Russian legation. Obviously, some other "slick" propagandist maneuvered the good Admiral here, grabbing a chance along the way to take a crack at Henry Wallace. But neither the North American nor the Latin American people are as stupid as such propaganda requires. Some of our diplomatic staff in Latin America recognize this fact and one aide at our Colombian Embassy was reported as saying "if I were a Colombian and read that stuff I'd probably go out and set fire to the Embassy."

The whole situation at the Conference was a demonstration of the fact that we are allied to unpopular and shaky forces in Latin America and that so long as this alliance continues there will be no more "Good Neighbor Policy". While after the rioting at Bogota the Latin

American feudalists scurried back under Washington's sheltering wing, that is not a victory. The long-range result, even the immediate result, will be to link us, in the Latin American mind, even more closely to the reactionary forces that oppress them. So long as our present Latin American policy continues, we shall not represent a democratic hope for the peoples to the south of us, but rather a growing reactionary menace.

Of course, the fact that our government in Washington is in the hands of Wall Street and the military crowd is a main reason for the bankruptcy of our Latin American policy, since the objective of our policy is automatically the objective of those who control it. And that objective, under such circumstances, can only be exploitation of Latin America to the detriment of the

Latin American people and for the benefit of our colonizing capital, guaranteed by a military and political alliance between Washington and Latin American feudalism. The longer this policy lasts, the greater will be our estrangement from the Latin American people — and the deeper the pit at our feet.

It does no good to say that the collapse of the Good Neighbor policy is Truman's fault, or Marshall's fault, or the fault of this or that banker or general. The fault lies with us, the American people. We let Wall Street and the generals take over, here at home, too. And some of us, through measly fear or hope of gain, are aiding and abetting them in this crime against our country. What happened at Bogota was merely a signal light along a road that leads to a fearful destination.

A GOOD WORD FROM CANADA

Your very fine magazine cuts through all the political and economic, yes and ecclesiastical eyewash put out these days to bewilder and confuse North Americans. I find the articles so helpful in understanding the events shaping our destiny and appreciate somewhat the uphill fight you are having in opposing fascism, which is making such inroads on this Continent, while the high-powered forces of business and church rail against Communism.

Yours sincerely,

A. E. Fearnside
Winnipeg, Manitoba

FOUND — AN HONEST PUBLISHER

By HERSEL M. BROWN

— *A Pennsylvania Dutch editor gives readers what they need, not what they want.*

AT high noon on March 7 in York, Pa., a salty, 63-year old Pennsylvania Dutchman named Josiah W. Gitt stepped out onto the platform of a local high school. He quietly surveyed the cheering crowd before him, rapped his chairman's gavel and called to order 2,531 delegates to the first convention of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania.

When the historic meeting ended a few hours later, a lusty third political party was established in the Keystone State (35 electoral votes), dedicated to Henry A. Wallace's candidacy for president. Jess Gitt, publisher of the *York Gazette and Daily*, had been elected chairman to guide the infant through its crawling stages.

Not the least of Jess Gitt's organizational tools is his own newspaper that he calls his "baby," nursed for 32 years from a state of bankruptcy to one of the most influential progressive organs in the country.

Often hailed as one of the few honest newspapers in the country, the *Gazette and Daily* also is one of a handful of publications to throw its full weight behind the third party movement. This stand is not unex-

pected for Jess Gitt's paper. As a small-town editor in the highly individualistic tradition of William Allen White, Gitt for 32 years has disproved the theory that the only thing a country editor can attack with impunity is the man-eating shark.

York County Dutchmen know Jess Gitt as a political maverick whose newspaper has been instrumental in making his community an oasis of liberalism in Republican Pennsylvania. He always has rebelled against comfortable and accepted modes of political thought, never exchanging his own ideas for the trademark of party loyalty.

Although a registered Democrat, Gitt bolted the party fold in 1923 to support the re-election campaign of Republican Governor Gifford Pinchot against the Grundy-Mellon machine. In 1931 he again backed Pinchot, but returned to the Democrats when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President. On the local scene, Gitt succeeded some years ago in ousting a Democratic county controller and district attorney in the interests of clean government.

Despite these active political interests, Gitt has made only one personal venture into an elective

fight. He was persuaded by the local Democratic organization to run for Congress in 1944 against a McKinley-type Republican incumbent. In a wide-open campaign, Gitt stumped the three-county Congressional district, trying desperately to get the real issues across to the voters.

But in the heat of electioneering he observed that he wasn't a good candidate.

"The trouble with me," he said, "is that I've stood for something all my life. And that's a handicap."

He insisted that campaign expenditures be strictly within the law, said he'd refuse to take office should he discover an illegal dime spent in his behalf. It was an unprecedented campaign in the 21st Congressional District, but failed by 5,500 votes to elect Gitt.

After the 1944 expedition, Jess Gitt once more turned away from the Democratic party for political activity. He became a national board member of the ill-fated Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, later accepted a similar post in the Progressive Citizens of America and became one of the lustiest rooters for Henry A. Wallace.

In a disarmingly simple explanation of his support for Wallace, Gitt says: "Wallace is the only man in public life today who has answers to the world's problems."

He goes on to say: "PCA is

the only progressive group that doesn't waste its time chasing witches. You can't afford to take your eye off the ball these days and you can't get excited by the Communist epithet."

Jess Gitt always has believed that "names can never hurt me" and never has swerved from his determination to print "the news all the time, without fear or favor, bias or prejudice." First test of this policy came just a few months after he and his law partner, Allen C. Wiest, took over the bankrupt *Gazette* in 1915. The paper, founded as a German language weekly in 1795, was struggling along with only 5,000 circulation and multiple debts crying for settlement.

It happened that a local murderer chose to do away with his victim in the hallowed halls of a York hotel. The hotel manager, a financial and political power in town, threatened to wipe out the *Gazette* unless the hotel's name was deleted from news accounts of the crime.

Gitt curtly refused the order, saying, "we will print the news as we see fit," a statement which for 32 years has been the touchstone of his editorial policy. He turned a deaf ear to the threats and pressures of influential advertisers. Readers liked the new independence of the *Gazette* and Gitt emerged with a stronger paper than before.

"I guess I was a bull-headed fellow in those days," Jess Gitt reflects. "My idea always was to

print the facts as accurately as possible and to comment upon them as soundly as possible. I've stuck to my guns and somehow I'm still in business."

Gitt's proofs that his publishing ideas have been sound are a constantly growing circulation, now up to 31,000, one of the highest small-newspaper wage scales in the country, consistently good profits and nationwide recognition for his honesty and frankness.

He determined early in his newspaper career that reader confidence in the printed word is the priceless ingredient in successful publishing. Clean, scrupulously honest advertising is one of the best ways, Gitt decided, to build up this confidence.

In the first year of his editorship, Gitt threw out all patent medicine advertising when manufacturers squawked about his articles describing harmful effects from many quack nostrums. A teetotaler himself, Jess Gitt annually rejects thousands of dollars worth of liquor and beer advertising. He says he refuses to encourage drinking through the columns of his newspaper.

Each day on the editorial page this request is printed: "Readers of the *Gazette and Daily* will confer a favor if they will promptly report to this office any failure on the part of an advertiser to make good any representation contained in an advertisement which appeared in

the *Gazette and Daily*."

Not long ago, Gitt turned down an ad for a popular breakfast cereal because it was purported to be an aid to nature in at least one vital respect. One of the nation's largest advertising agencies indignantly protested that the *Gazette and Daily* was the only newspaper in more than 1,000 to have refused the ad.

Gitt answered briefly that he was highly flattered by the agency's comment. He said he was proud to run the kind of newspaper the agency spoke of—one in a thousand. His ambition, he declares, is "to run the freest newspaper in the country."

Jess Gitt directs his thriving morning tabloid from two desks in the four-story plant. In his capacity as publisher, Gitt has a cubicle in the business and circulation office where he acts as general manager, advertising censor, sales promoter and treasurer. As editor-in-chief he maintains a second-floor office in the newsroom. There he writes editorials, keeps an eye on the news wires, holds editorial conferences and performs all of an editor's usual multiple duties. Both desks are equally cluttered in an overflowing disorder of pencils, correspondence, notes, ash trays, souvenirs, galley proofs and clippings.

Gray-haired Jess Gitt in appearance is the prototype of the legendary country editor. He pays little attention to niceties

of dress or deportment. His suits, hung loosely over a wiry frame, seldom are pressed. One shoe has a hole cut out to allow "lebensraum" for a sore toe. The frames of his eyeglasses are slightly askew and the lenses generally need polishing. His battered felt hat could have been used by every fisherman in York County.

Gitt's informal dress is matched by the lack of ceremony with which he greets visitors. The most important guests may steam at the front-office counter while he pores over a corrected proof. But he gives valuable time every day to a procession of local characters for whom Jess Gitt is father confessor, lovelorn advisor, short-term loan agency and business counselor.

His unshakeable conviction that the public should read what it needs rather than what it wants has won for Gitt the sobriquet of a "carpetbagger in York," although he has lived his entire life in York County. Largely responsible for this title are his newspaper crusades which have been a notable part of the community since 1915.

After a 10-year fight, the *Gazette and Daily* was instrumental in setting-up a city planning commission. A seven-year campaign resulted in the erection of a contagious disease hospital in York. Continual prodding from the *Gazette and Daily* forced the city's largest hotel to admit Negro guests.

York now has one of the lowest electric power rates in Pennsylvania, thanks to a *Gazette and Daily* campaign.

"I began with the crazy idea that a newspaper publisher is a trustee of the community, that he should work constantly to make his community a better place to live," Gitt declares.

"For that reason I've always been on the side of the needy against the greedy because I don't believe civilization can continue to exist upon the exploitation of one group of people by another. All the great civilizations of the past have been destroyed by a process in which a few powerful and rich men take advantage of the majority."

He readily admits that his militant progressivism is not solely of his own creation. Gitt is descended from a Scotch-Irish immigrant named James Kidd who came to this continent in 1721 as a refugee from religious persecution. Kidd established himself in Hanover, Pa., a few miles from York, where the family has remained and where Jess Gitt lives now in a comfortable farm home.

As far back as he has been able to trace the political thinking of his forebears, Gitt finds a tradition of liberalism. He says with some pride that many of his ancestors were considered revolutionists in their time. But during the American Revolution the Gitts won respectability by fighting the British, along with

their more conservative neighbors.

"Some people call me a radical, too," Gitt says. "But I don't think anyone can tell me that Americanism isn't basically a radical idea, and always has been. Paine, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt—the greatest exponents of democracy in our history—all were branded revolutionists by many of their contemporaries.

"That's why, when someone calls me a Communist, I don't bother to defend myself. After all, the Communists got their ideas of revolution from us rather than the other way around."

The *Gazette and Daily* was squarely behind Franklin D. Roosevelt from his election in 1932 until the President's death. Gitt felt that F. D. R. was leading the country away from the do-nothingism of three Republican administrations, solidly endorsed the social and economic reforms of the New Deal. But his personal admiration of Roosevelt did not blind Jess Gitt to what he considered the fatal danger of United States policy toward Spain during the Franco revolution. In one editorial after another he warned that Fascism was testing its strength, urged that we give active aid to the Republican government.

The *Gazette and Daily* took active issue with the House Un-American Activities Committee from its inception. Martin Dies

was only the first of a series of chairmen whom Jess Gitt has attacked editorially and whom he continues to berate.

During the height of isolationist sentiment in 1940, Gitt wrote: "There can be no peace with Hitler . . . there is no such thing as appeasing him. The way to prevent war, to stay out of war, is to enable Britain to defeat the Nazis." This was printed when Franklin D. Roosevelt was almost alone in his effort to convince the American public that we must aid the Allies or be sucked ourselves into war.

On August 22, 1947, just a few hours before the Taft-Hartley labor law went into effect, Gitt signed a new contract with the American Newspaper Guild, renewing for one year the full Guild shop provisions of the old contract which would have expired on December 31st. In announcing the contract, Gitt joined the Guild in denouncing the "outlandish and restrictive provisions of the Taft-Hartley law . . . Both the publisher and the Guild feel that the new law is aimed at crippling and weakening labor unions and that any such weakening and probably destruction may well be the first step to an American-style Fascism."

Gitt's unorthodox political views have not interfered either with his paper's success or with his business career outside the publishing field. He is a former director of the Hanover Wire

Cloth Co., is a director of the York Corporation, manufacturers of refrigeration equipment, trustee of Franklin and Marshall college where he once was star quarterback.

He has been a bank director, a member of Pennsylvania's bar, practiced law for seven years after attending the University of Pennsylvania law school.

A youthful interest in sports never has flagged. Jess Gitt is known as a formidable golfer who still shoots in the low 70's. He competed in the National Amateur Tournament at the age of 57. An expert horticulturist, Gitt has on his farm one of the country's finest collections of native American trees, 94 varieties in all. A four-inch telescope in his home testifies to a strong interest in and knowledge of astronomy.

His creativeness as an editor brought the *Gazette and Daily* the N. W. Ayer typographical award for tabloids in 1946 and 1947. It is one of the few small-sized newspapers to have a true front page instead of the usual pictures and streamer headlines of the conventional tabloid.

Perhaps the key to the financial and editorial success of the *Gazette and Daily* is that Jess

Gitt refuses to consider his paper primarily as a business venture.

"This kind of paper could be successful anywhere," he says, "if only the publishers had enough guts."

A local stockbroker, personally opposed to most of Gitt's progressive policies, said recently: "I don't always agree with Jess Gitt. But in all the years I've known him, he's always been for the underdog, no matter what it costs him. He's never sacrificed his principles for profit."

Henry A. Wallace wrote not long ago that "I have long been impressed by the courage and intelligence of J. W. Gitt. He is a real asset to the progressive cause."

William Shirer, noted foreign correspondent, added his kudo, saying of the *Gazette and Daily*: "America certainly needs such a paper today."

Gitt expressed the heart of his credo for liberals in a recent editorial in the *Gazette and Daily*.

"The liberal believes that real democracy includes economic as well as political democracy and that all of the people are entitled to their fair share of the natural resources and the wealth they helped to create."

THE RELIGION OF PEACE

By THE REV. REGINALD H. BASS

—*The chaotic man must become the cosmic man if he is to survive.*

THE fears engendered throughout immense periods of time when our life on this planet was really insecure have returned and under the influence of these fears the world is hell-bent on destroying the degree of security it has attained. Capitalism and Socialism could be peaceful experiments to determine which offers the greatest degree of security if these ideologies had not been made into tribal gods, each one endowed with all the virtues by the nations that worship it, while the other is represented as evil, so that the killing of the infidels by the faithful becomes the primary obligation of the various tribes and nations.

The primeval jungle has now taken on modern improvements, but it is still a jungle at heart. Instead of two savages armed with clubs chasing each other around trees, we have humanity lined up into two opposing camps, armed with all the terrifying forces of nature of which their ancestors were so mortally afraid, intent on doing each other in.

Has religion no influence over this jungle? So much money has been spent on religious education in recent years with so little influence for world peace that

the low appraisal of education without religion would seem to apply equally to *religious education without vital religion*. Religious education has seemed only to have harnessed the religious instincts of the people of the world to nationalistic causes much as ancient tribes were made to march into battle for the honor of tribal gods.

There is only one hope for humanity: all the hate, fear, and violence that have been accumulating in the human spirit since that time, millions of years ago, when the first cells of protein life went careening madly through watery wastes, must be brought under control. Man must give up his age-old spirit of anarchy and return to his rightful place in the cosmos; *the chaotic man must become the cosmic man if he is to survive.*

Jesus taught that the human spirit is a house, inhabited by many unruly spirits, but that when that house was surrendered to the spirit of God, all the conflicting spirits within were brought under subjection to his will. This relationship of surrender, however, was not easily maintained, and a departure from it brought a return to anarchy within, for "when the

evil spirit findeth the house empty, swept and garnished, he goeth and taketh with him even other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter and dwell there: and the last state is that man is worse than the first."

According to the Hebrew devotional poet:

"Thy loving kindness, O Lord is in the heavens;

Thy faithfulness reacheth unto the skies

Thy righteousness is like a great mountain

Thy judgments are a great deep." (Ps.36; 5, 6.)

When a human life is under the influence of this vision, spiritual reality is the only reality, and the attainment of character becomes the chief pursuit of life. The diversion of the primary forces of the human spirit into the struggle to enter the Kingdom of God drains human energies from the realm where they are conflicting, the realm where they become complementary.

Getting in order to live must place the present living in order to get.

"Seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and these (material) things will be added to you." This saying Jesus offers the only hope of peace in this world of conflict. His conflict, which in its latest episode has been continuous for the last thirty-five years and has destroyed a hundred million lives

and property worth hundreds of billions of dollars, has been nothing but a *struggle to complete and control the Industrial Revolution*. Regardless of the alignment of moral and religious forces in this struggle, it is an attempt to settle the question of whether production shall be primarily for the use of all or for the profit of some.

The beginnings of the Industrial Revolution saw political revolutions breaking out in both hemispheres, and disorder spreading everywhere, until the revival of religion under John Wesley led the way towards a just sharing of the increased production among all classes. The results of the Wesleyan revival fell short of their goal and have now been dissipated; but it is instructive that in all crises in which humanity seemed bent on self-extinction such revivals of religion have occurred.

We are learning today how ineffective an instrument of world peace a United Nations' Organization can be when it becomes a partisan instrument. Isaiah, who lived more than twenty-five hundred years ago, laid the only valid foundation for world peace, when he said: "In that day shall Israel be a third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." (Isa. 19; 24, 25)

THE DEATH OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

By JOSEF ORLOVSKY

IN Czarist days the Russian Orthodox Church was supreme in her authority and splendor, and Russia was famous for her illiteracy, filth, and poverty; the groans of her oppressed and starving masses were heard in the farthest corners of the earth.

Came the Revolution. The Christian world shuddered at reforms which shattered and then buried the mighty Russian Church. Thousands of articles were written describing the tragedies of the Russian clergy, the tortures, the fiendish massacres. Some wrote with bleeding hearts, others with tongue in cheek studiously forgetting to mention, that as a rule, the clergy had cooperated with the Imperial Police; that the belfries of the churches had been used as strong firing points; and that the priests had operated machine guns and sprayed their former congregations with hot lead as they had once sprayed them with holy water.

Many even today do not understand why the Russian Orthodox Church was condemned by the Soviet Government. They draw a parallel between the churches of their own faith and the Russian Orthodox Church prior to the Revolution when not only Bolsheviks but millions of pious Russians were convinced that the sins of the former Russian

Orthodox Church cried to heaven for justice. The "miraculous icons" studded with priceless jewels could not save it from the crash. The golden robes of the clergy could not protect them. The gorgeously engraved chalice spilled its bitter dregs.

In Czarist days the Russian Church was a department of the Imperial Russian Government. The affairs of the Church were administered by the Holy Synod, headed by the Metropolitan, and Czar Nicholas was the chairman of that administrative body. Each priest was a government clerk working for wages and what additional profit he could get on the side. He lived in government property, and in addition to his wages he charged his parishioners for marriages, baptisms, funerals, and so forth.

Russia had a great population of saints. Each man and woman had a patron saint for the salvation of his soul as well as for help in practical things. Bad artists made good livings painting saints and Russia was full of elaborate and ornate icons. These glittered on the walls of still more elaborate and ornate churches and contrasted with the little straw-roofed huts which surrounded and supported them.

In every hut was a holy corner. There hung an "icon" and before it a little "lampadka"

burned day and night.

The peasants were illiterate and poor; they were besieged with woes and they had only God and saints to rely upon. They went to church often. They brought to their patron saints all they could possibly afford.

The principle of really "effective prayer" was emphatically propounded by the clergy: one must be generous with offerings to God, God will not grant one's prayers if one is unwilling to sacrifice to God all his possessions to the last thread on his back.

The function of the "icon" and the priest did not end in bringing spiritual comfort to the peasant, who was a man of the soil and whose welfare depended on what that soil would yield for him. Here too, he had to depend on God and the ministrations of the priest.

It was very common to see a priest with "icon" and holy water walking around the freshly sown fields, followed by a procession of devout peasants of the village praying for good crops. Dipping his aspergillum into a silver basin of holy water and sprinkling it to right and left as far as he could reach, chanting prayers and blessing the fields, he led the procession.

There was no scientific knowledge of agriculture. If by accident the right seed found its way into the right soil and resulted in a good crop, the lucky peasant usually said that

God had responded to his prayers.

Changes, however, little by little began to take place, especially in those parts of the country reached by the railroads. Here and there a man got off the train lugging a bunch of books or something resembling laboratory equipment. Wherever he settled the fields began to blossom and heavy ears of crops bowed in reverence to science. The cows began to produce more milk and the worms in the orchards lost their appetite and scampered elsewhere. That displeased the clergy who called the cities "factories forging pitchforks for Satan".

Prior to World War I, the writer had a personal experience which may serve as an illustration of what was happening to the faith of young Russian people. Having been lost in a forest on a hunting trip, I was invited by a peasant to his house for a late afternoon meal. He was a handsome, well-built chap, dressed in a red silk shirt and dark, wide velvet trousers tucked into high boots of city manufacture. He lived in the finest house in the village; it even had a wooden floor in the living room. The floors of most huts in the village were of beaten clay.

"I want you to see my books," he said showing me a shelf of well-worn volumes. There were Schiller, Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Maupassant, Hugo, Voltaire, several volumes on

agriculture and a book of short stories by Jack London.

"I got them in a second-hand book store in St. Petersburg," my host explained. "This is the first batch of books that has ever come to this village".

Later, we were sitting on the porch of that little house while the meal was being prepared and the "samovar" was puffing steam. A priest was coming toward us.

"Oh!" said my host, "There comes Father Feodor. I have a strong feeling he is not fond of me."

"Why?" I asked.

"I think that he is coming here to threaten me with hellfire and brimstone. I have not been to church since my return from St. Petersburg. In my twelve years absence I have lost touch. I ran away from this village when a little shaver. After knocking about a bit I got a job with a college professor, running errands, washing dishes, and looking after his horses. After ten years with them, I learned that there are other things besides "icons" and holy water that will benefit the orchards and fields."

Father Feodor was approaching. His shiny boots kicked up his black cassock. Upon his chest hung a huge silver cross supported by a heavy silver chain. His long, well-groomed hair fell over his shoulders, and his beard was magnificent.

He blessed us with a flourish

of his huge cross and soon we were sharing a meal. My host and the priest were looking curiously at each other.

"Have an apple, Father Feodor. Sorry, Father Feodor, these are the very best apples I could find in the orchard. Every one of them has at least two worm-holes in it. Sorry, Father Feodor, you must bite around them."

"Well, my son, it is the will of God. This year the worms seem to be particularly destructive," Father Feodor said evasively.

"Every one of these worm holes, Father Feodor, is an evidence that your ministrations of last spring were quite ineffectual. Perhaps you used the wrong prayer."

"Look here, son," Father Feodor said patiently, "God gives to people according to their faith. I did my share in blessing your orchard . . . these worm-holes are simply a rebuke from God. You do not go to church, you do not bring offerings to God, and there is the punishment. It is just the beginning . . ."

"Father Feodor," our host interrupted the priest, "I'm afraid I shall not find the salvation of my orchard in the basin of your holy water."

Father Feodor was shaking with rage and rose from the table.

"And next spring," continued our host, "when I sprinkle my fields and orchard with insecti-

cide and fertilize my land, and when you say your prayers for the fields and orchards of others, and when all the peasants here have worms in their apples, and then when they see my orchard, Father Feodor, they will stone you! Mark my words!"

Father Feodor let out a torrent of profanity and departed.

"He will not be able to sleep tonight," my host remarked. "His status is definitely changing and that is worrying him plenty."

Scenes like this had been taking place in Russia for several decades. The older people chided their children for not having enough faith and the children in turn accused them of being superstitious and gullible fossils.

To fill in the picture of the religious life in Russia prior to the Revolution, let us take a glance at the innumerable Russian monasteries. The grandest of all is the Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra in Kiev, established in 1053 and blown up by the Germans during their retreat from Ukraine. It was perhaps the most beautiful monastery in the world, located on a hill of that city. On a sunshiny day one was dazzled by its gilded domes, its rich and beautiful architecture.

Under the monastery there were catacombs where many saints were buried. Most of the caskets stood on low catafalques and a candle was perpetually burning at each corner of the casket. Religious Russians be-

lieved the bodies of the saints do not decay. The saints are "incorruptible". To doubt this was a sacrilege.

Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra was famous all over Russia and many people planned their entire lives to go and pray there before the saints. Pilgrims came from far away corners of Russia. Many made the long journey on foot, even though able to travel in comfort; some people even crawled on their knees.

There were over a thousand monks and priests in that monastery who catered to the pilgrims. The monks would guide a pilgrim to a desired saint and leave him there for prayer and meditation. Sometimes a pilgrim would hire a monk or several to help him pray. Naturally, if the pilgrim had a fat purse and was willing to loosen the strings his chances of receiving attention from a busy God were better. The monks prayed harder, sang louder, and presented his case with greater ardor and finesse.

There were cells where pilgrims could sleep, rest and stay for days and weeks to attain spiritual rehabilitation. The cells were austere, having only a hard couch, an "icon" on the wall and a hard chair. The food was brought in by the monks when requested and that also was ascetic. All of it was free, but if the spiritual patient wanted to make a contribution, everything was acceptable: money, jewels and even estates. The devout of-

ten left everything of earthly value at the feet of their saints in the catacombs. Silver and gold coins from the poor, diamonds, emeralds and rubies from the rich were collected by the monks in bushel baskets. Russian sins were big sins and it cost plenty to save the Russian soul.

The sacred files of the holy archives of monasteries and churches spewed into the light hair-raising pages of ancient mouldy parchment and not so ancient paper:

"This day of our Lord, done unto 78, with that the hands of 47 were chopped off."

"Done unto," undoubtedly meant "tortured to death."

The Soviet authorities ordered an investigation and soon the crimes which had been recorded in the archives in ink brought forth from mass graves in the catacombs heaps of skeletons to tell the tragic stories of their ending. These were the people who were "done unto," by their spiritual leaders.

These graves honeycombing the basement walls of old monasteries were roped off. Nothing was touched. Even the picks and shovels remained where the workmen had left them. The cards which hung on the ropes indicated doctors' findings. Some of them read: "Walled in alive." Or "Killed by a blow on the head. Probably with a sledge hammer." Or "Judging by hacked off hands and feet—tortured

to death."

According to the records published by the Peoples Commissariat of Justice in the USSR in 1920, the area of land owned by the Russian churches and monasteries aggregated 10,800,000 acres. This represents the area of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware and Rhode Island.

A small portion of that land was worked by extremely underpaid labor, the remainder by religious peasants as penance for their sins.

In Holy Mother Russia in those days, God was too high and the Czar was too far. A miracle was the only way to realize one's hopes. And "miracles" they got. "Miraculous icons" had started to appear all over the country many centuries back and those appearances had gathered tempo and developed into an epidemic. The "miraculous" springs also began to spout with the demand for "miraculous water".

Monks and priests are masters of publicity. Be it a "miraculous icon" appearing out of thin air or a "miraculous spring" spouting from the footprint of the Holy Virgin, they planted the news expertly. All the "facts" were surrounded with the halo of sanctity. Paid criers ran through towns and villages shouting at the top of their lungs: "The blind saw!... "The deaf heard!... "The cripples walked!..."

Thousands rushed to find cure

for their ills. Praying on a grand scale. Services ordered and paid for. Many shifts of priests and monks officiating.

Along the walls of monasteries and churches regular business stands sold "holy" articles: crosses, incense burners, icons, and relics. Perhaps the most popular were the bottles of "miraculous water" from some "miraculous spring", guaranteed to cure everything from cancer to skin irritation, from broken heart to rheumatism.

There was the "death shroud". It sold for a young fortune. A piece of black muslin with a reproduction of some "miraculous icon" and a few gold paper

stars pasted on it. Covered with it after death one could be absolutely sure to go straight to heaven.

Few huts in Russia did not have a death shroud. The peasants would point to it and say, "Now I am safe. Cover me with that shroud when I close my mortal eyes, and the angels of heaven will take my soul to my God! True enough, I spent for it all my life savings and sold my last cow . . . but don't cry about that, my children. Remember that after the day of my death will start for me the happiest life in heaven!"

(Concluded in the next issue)

An editorial in *The Catholic Worker*, 115 Mott St., New York, asks, "Is it Soviet Russia who is the threat to the world? Is it indeed?" and in answer quotes from Scott Nearing's "The Way of the Transgressor."

"What nation today has a navy bigger than all other navies combined? The U. S. A. What nation today is steadily adding to the only known stockpile of atom bombs? The U. S. A. What nation today is tops in the developments of buzz bombs, jet planes, bacterial poisons and death rays? The U. S. A. What nation today is spending the largest sums on military preparations. The U. S. A. What nation today is permitting representatives of the armed forces to take over the direction of domestic and foreign policy? The U. S. A. What nation today is arming its neighbors (in Latin America), intervening in the internal affairs of Europe and Asia, threatening the world peace and security and rapidly surrounding itself with a black curtain of anxiety, suspicion and hatred? The U. S. A."

THE ATOM — SERVANT OR DESTROYER!

By CLARK and FAY RUMSEY

Big Business Fears the Atom

Arguments of opponents of the measure establishing civilian governmental control of atomic energy as brought to the attention of the public were principally the following: (1) the most dangerous bill ever presented to Congress (2) Communists want it passed (3) the quickest way to give away the secret (4) it opens the front door to peace and the back door to socialism or, expressed in another manner, private industry would be throttled and could never get started on the atom due to the patent provisions nationalizing the new power.

On the other hand, Senator Brien McMahon, author of the Act, declared the nation desired two things: (1) to make sure that the atomic bomb is never used against it (2) to enjoy the benefits which atomic energy can bring to the people.

Though this represents but a preliminary step toward international government, it is not unlikely that scientists would agree the possibility of an atomic arms race became less with the passage of the law than at any time since the A-bomb was used on Hiroshima.

The next phase of the problem, putting the bomb and atomic energy under responsible

world control, has not been resolved.

Briefly, the U.S. plan provides that A-bombs are not to be destroyed or given up to an international authority until a control system has been established with swift, sure penalties for violators.

The Soviet Union demands an immediate convention outlawing atomic weapons and destruction of all A-bombs as an international crime against humanity: it would hold each nation responsible for inspection and enforcement.

The possibility of a compromise on these widely differing views has been suggested with the United States relinquishing its own stockpile of such weapons and the USSR agreeing to a pact setting up a workable and effective control plan.

American opinion, generally rooted in the belief of an atomic secret, has been divided on the question of sharing atomic knowledge with other nations.

Soviet opinion seems to be very close to the element in the United States that favors immediate prohibition of the production of atomic weapons. It maintains that to Mr. Baruch and his principal advisers atomic power does not have the same appeal it does to the representa-

tives of other nations, France for example, or the USSR, or smaller countries where atomic energy would be the key to modernization; and the Soviet Union because of its planned, socialized economy — as opposed to the United States capitalistic, market economy—need not fear competition from a new industry. On this point it is impossible to ignore the plain implication, both here and abroad, that private industry in the United States fears this new source of power and all along has planned deliberately to withhold data on atomic energy from the world on the pretense of a secret.

There Is No Secret

As proof of the accuracy of this contention, the Chancellor of the University of Chicago, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, in an article in the Dec. 1947 *American Magazine* "The Bomb Secret is Out!" reveals that all talk of secrecy is completely asinine and public utterances which would have us believe we own an atomic secret are rooted either in ignorance or deceit. Of 10 scientists (Hutchins names Einstein, Hahn, Bohr, Strassmann, Meitner, Frisch, Joliot, Chadwick, Fermi, Wheeler) who pioneered atomic fission in 1939, five were German, one French, one Danish, one Italian, one English, and only one American—all of them being entirely familiar with the processes involved in producing the atomic bomb, and each know-

ing all there is to be known about atomic energy and atomic bombs.

Hutchins discloses the succession of blind alleys and dead ends "we had to explore between 1940 and 1942, when," he says, "we set off the first self-maintaining nuclear chain reaction—the principle of the bomb—under a grandstand on the campus of the University of Chicago." Today, he goes on, the production of atomic bombs is merely a manufacturing process. There is no secret.

There Is No Defense

His second point is that there is no defense because all theory of defense would have to be based on absorption and with the atomic bomb there can be no question of absorption. No known target can absorb the punishment the bomb can administer and not capitulate or be destroyed. To attempt to destroy an atomic bomb on its way to a target would be comparably difficult to trying to destroy an artillery shell in flight. There is therefore no defense, and it follows that Senator McMahon's intention of making sure the atomic bomb is never used against us cannot be fulfilled either by manufacturing a stockpile of bombs or by vainly attempting to keep a secret already known to all the world.

Despite the fact that much has appeared in the American press of a combined American-

British-Canadian monopoly of an atomic secret, *l'Humanité* central organ of the French Communist party, made public on August 8, 1945 — two days after Hiroshima—the history of the atomic bomb, stressing the work of Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie as being of enormous importance in this prodigious conquest of science. This story of the A-bomb and nuclear energy cites the fact that since 1938 in all countries scientists have been engaged in this immense task and goes on to elaborate as follows:

"The basic principle of matter, the atom, an infinitely small element, is actually composed of a homogeneous nucleus around which gravitate particles of negative electrical charge called electrons. It had been observed for considerable time that in projecting neutral electrical particles, called neutrons, at great speed on a center (what is termed scientifically, bombardment of the atom), a new element differing from the original is obtained. This was the first posted landmark toward the disintegration of matter and had been accomplished by German physicists: Strassmann, Hahn, Lise Meitner in October 1938. More profound research permitted Joliot-Curie and foreign scientists, in Denmark and in the United States to discover simultaneously in the spring of 1939 that bombardment of the uranium atom, heavy metal par-

ent of radium, causes explosion of the nucleus of the atom and the emission by the nucleus of neutrons themselves capable of exploding the nuclei of surrounding atoms. Thus a disintegration is obtained which perpetuates itself by the spontaneous projection of new neutrons.

"This discovery of what has become known as chain reaction was followed by the outbreak of war in September 1939, all research becoming secret and directed toward one goal, realization of the atomic bomb; the work was conducted in France until June 1940 when Joliot-Curie dispatched his collaborators to England with the precious scientific baggage, while he himself remained behind to lead the heroic action of the resistance; research proceeded in England under a group of French-British physicists until in December 1941 after Pearl Harbor Americans took brisk interest in the question. In common accord the work followed across the Atlantic near the rich Canadian deposits of pitchblende."

"The main difficulty lay in the fact that only a uranium atom of determinate weight, U-235, has this explosive property. It was therefore a question of separating it from all other uranium even though this is itself particularly rare. The Americans spent three years of prodigious effort and two billion dollars—when in 1944 Joliot-Curie could

at last again take up his work, America had taken a considerable step forward."

Joliot-Curie and his students, Halban and Kowarski, undertook experiments which demonstrated that on an average about three neutrons are given off with each fragmentation of the atom thus: a neutron projectile causes a first rupture of a uranium nucleus in a great mass of this metal. Three neutrons are given off in projectiles of the same nature of the incident projectile. If more than one of these neutrons causes in its turn a new rupture of another uranium nucleus, one conceives that these ruptures propagate themselves in the mass, their number building up in geometric progression. Thus is established a procession of nuclear reactions in explosive chain, a veritable epidemic. The energy liberated during these ruptures multiplies and gives a prodigious total energy. The slower the speed of the neutron projectiles, the more are the chances of provoking ruptures.

The French team of workers found the principle of braking, permitting stoppage of the development of reactions before the explosion, with a view to practical utilization of the heat given off in the mass. It is sufficient for this effect, to introduce periodically into the machine heavy water absorbing the neutrons. The team of Joliot-Curie, Halban and Kowarski,

with which Francis Perrin was associated, undertook experiments which permitted verification of the soundness of the principles cited.

Only a very great country, very rich industrially, could construct manufacturing apparatus rapidly enough on a grand scale.

If it is necessary to admire the gigantic effort of research and of fabrication realized by the United States, it is none the less true that it was in France that the first principles of realization were found; they constitute a point of first importance in this new conquest of man over nature.

The Russians Know the "Secret"

Some months later, November 14, 1945, information came out of Moscow by way of the government newspaper *Izvestia* reporting that the Soviet Union had conquered the atomic energy secret. Important discoveries, it said, resulting from research undertaken by the USSR in the realm of atomic energy were announced from the shores of Lake Karagal, 55 miles from the Turkish frontier.

The celebrated Soviet scientist Peter Kapitza, the most eminent authority in Russia in the domain of atomic energy, contributed to the work. Kapitza, whose research is followed with intense interest throughout the Soviet Union, has been pursuing for some years experiments of capital importance.

According to *Izvestia*, Kapitza completed his work entirely in the same month that atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The current discoveries of the Soviet scientists bear on a new type of cosmic ray which is called "the third constituent."

It is well known that two categories of cosmic rays have already been discovered.

Numerous films dedicated to these discoveries have been shown at Moscow before members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The preceding Moscow dispatch was shortly confirmed by the Copenhagen *Politiken* which disclosed in its edition November 24, 1945, that Soviet and Danish scientists have realized important discoveries in the field of cosmic rays and atomic energy.

Continues the Danish publication: the Soviet scientist Kapitza, who established a vast laboratory in the mountainous regions near Armenia, has proved that cosmic rays foreshadow atomic disintegrations in interplanetary space.

Their utilization would permit the production of atomic energy on a less costly basis.

According to *Politiken*, this innovation has rendered obsolete the process of bomb manufacture used up to now in the USA, the cost of which is astronomic.

In the words of Marcel Cachin "... the progress of science

could be perverted from its true ends if it is allowed to be captured by businessmen who see in it nothing but new personal gain! This is why it is inconceivable to think that States should be able to deliver to private concerns the inventions of this order. This is why it is also unthinkable that some States in the world should be the sole repositories of certain secrets of manufacture like those of the atomic bomb."

As Dr. Hutchins says with clarity and force:

1. Atomic energy is the most important asset to mankind since the discovery of fire and the invention of the wheel.

2. Heat will be so plentiful that it will even be used to melt snow as it falls.

3. There will be only a small hospital, if any at all, for most human ailments will be cured as rapidly as they are diagnosed.

4. One box car of atomic fuel will produce enough energy to operate every machine in the entire world for 1000 years.

5. These are not dreams. These are simple truths. If it seems too fanciful, consider how utterly impossible even a small modern town would have seemed to a Dawn Man squatting on his haunches before a blaze he started, dimly conceiving that here in his hands lay a tremendous new power, a new force—fire. Today, we are the Dawn People of the atomic age.

CAN POLES FORGIVE THE NAZIS?

By SEWERYNA SZMAGLEWSKA

LETTER TO THE POLISH COURT

[Miss Seweryna Szmaglewska, author of "Smoke Over Birkenau", a powerful indictment of that system of crimes which will forever be associated with the name of Adolf Hitler, served as a witness in the Nuremberg trials and in a number of war crime trials held in Poland. The latest was against forty criminals who had formed the management of the ill-famed Oswiecim death camp. The verdict was the death penalty for 20 Germans, 2 were acquitted, and the rest got away with prison terms. After the trial, Miss Szmaglewska published an Open Letter to the Polish Minister of Justice, parts of which we print here.]

This letter was the cause of much discussion in Poland. Some agreed with Miss Szmaglewska, others felt that the New Poland must set an example to the world in strict objective legality. There is more to say on this question than can be said here. It is well however for us in the U.S.A. far removed from the scene to keep ourselves reminded of the depths, not only of the suffering of a Szmaglewska, but of the moral depravity to which "good people" like the Germans are capable of sinking. This letter keeps us aware of this pit

on the edge of which the American people now hesitate.—Ed.]

FIVE years ago, four years ago, three years ago, I lived amidst thousands of people guarded by electric wire, and the idea that there could be anywhere on earth a Ministry of Justice to which we, the prisoners, could appeal in our plight, was an idle dream, indeed.

Our number is decreasing steadily. Ill, exhausted, out of harmony with the normal rhythm of life, we cannot keep pace with our generation. On rare occasions do we recuperate—we die more often. At night the fire of our memories consumes us. Our dreams are haunted...

Recently I took part in a survey among former political prisoners of Oswiecim, in preparation for a treatise on the following topic: "How Does War Affect the Human Psychology". Findings so far reveal that the prisoner's comeback to life is often in appearance only. In point of fact not one of those examined has yet freed himself from the psychological grip of Oswiecim. That place has eaten into the innermost roots of their being, it is deeply embedded in their subconscious, causing weird reactions. For many Os-

wiecim will probably remain a lifelong shadow from which only death will deliver them.

Nobody on earth understands the nature of a concentration camp better than the Jews. In an occupational survey, on the other hand, it must be stated that the Nazi method of biological annihilation of human lives is most profoundly, most completely felt and understood by physicians, and least of all can its significance be grasped by the legal profession.

Nuremberg was my first disappointment. The defendants were treated with unusual indulgence, and the verdict was equally lenient. But those lenient judges were Anglo-Saxons, who, for political reasons, tried to protect the Nazis from major punishment.

But Krakow!

On the day I was summoned by the Supreme National Tribunal in Krakow to testify as a witness, a typical discussion was in progress in the courtroom, in all probability, necessitated by the strict court procedure. The counsel for the defense questioned the testimony of the preceding witness who had deposed that the German overseer Miss Orlowska—who served in the same capacity in both Oswiecim and in the concentration camp of Majdanek—used to kill children by knocking their heads against the stone threshold of the barracks. The counsel de-

clared that there were no stone thresholds in Majdanek, but only wooden ones. If therefore this detail was incorrect, it followed that the rest of the testimony too must be considered unreliable.

The witness was no longer on the witness stand and so he could make no reply.

I do not know Majdanek. But I know that in Birkenau (a section of Oswiecim—Ed.) there were the same green-colored barracks with the same wooden thresholds. The German sense of order called for each of these thresholds to be covered by stones or else by a few bricks. I assume therefore that the defense counsel, in his search for accurate details, might have found stones on the thresholds of Majdanek—provided, that is, he had been there and provided he had looked closely enough—for it is a matter of common knowledge that all the camps were identically equipped and kept up according to standard regulations. Besides, Perschel and Moll have demonstrated that children can be killed not only by knocking them against a threshold, but that the leg of a boot is sufficient for that purpose. They also demonstrated that it is still simpler to throw them alive into the flames. Does, therefore, the defense counsel assume that a wooden threshold instead of one of stone could seriously prevent Miss Orlowska from killing children?

Miss Orlowska received a prison term of 15 years. She smiled as the verdict was read to her.

The same term of 15 years was meted out to Weber, kitchen chief in Birkenau, Women's Division. Though I did not know his name at the time, I used to know him well in person. Who was that man Weber? When testifying before the Supreme National Tribunal I told the story of the woman Weber caught and finally killed. She had been prowling around the kitchen and the rubbish heaps, a shadow among countless other shadows. Food packages were not allowed yet, and hunger, deadly, emaciating hunger that killed a man slowly, by degrees, used to drive us to seek the vicinity of the kitchen. Sometimes it was thirst rather than hunger, for the kitchen was then the only place where one could see water. I do not know what it was that woman was seeking there, but I saw how Weber first noticed her, and how he immediately set out for the chase. He had her soon within reach of his boots and began kicking her while still on the run. He caught up with her, but there was nothing he could beat her with, for on that day he had left behind him the stick he usually carried with him. And so with one kick of his heavy boots he pushed the woman into the ditch. He ordered her to get up, and no sooner was she on her feet again when he gave her another kick which

sent her flying to the bottom of the ditch. Then he grabbed one of the barrels that were standing around and lifted it up. In the absence of kettles, these barrels were used to carry soup. They were very heavy, thoroughly saturated with moisture. I knew their weight well enough, for I had often helped carry them. He thrust the barrel at the helpless figure struggling to get to her feet. And then began that sport so typical of SS men. He would alternately pick up the woman and the barrel throwing the former back into the ditch and hurling the latter after her. He still continued the game after the woman had long ceased to move.

Although the camp was full of dead bodies, that atrocity of the man Weber left a deep impression on all of us.

As soon as I began my testimony relating to that incident, Weber started to protest vociferously. He remembered the beating well. But when I erroneously mentioned the name of Wagner instead of Weber, he relaxed with a smile.

During his reign in the kitchen of Birkenau, Weber always used a heavy stick. I worked for several days in his department, peeling potatoes. Sometimes the work did not end before midnight, only to begin anew at four in the morning. And still the work lagged; it was impossible to keep pace. The camp was growing by leaps and bounds with thousands

of prisoners flowing in continually. This was an occasion for Weber to indulge in a special kind of "sport." He would stand in front of the kitchen door, with his big stick lifted high in his hand. And we would have to rush out of the kitchen and circle round the building, over and over again without end, while he would stand there and shower blows down on our shaven heads, on our shoulders, arms and legs.

There are no words to describe what Birkenau was like, thanks to individuals such as Weber. Whatever one tries to say, comes down to mere episodes, meaningless, incomprehensible. Words, words, words.

As I stood on the witness stand, there came a moment of utter doubt, discouragement, and humiliation. And when the verdict was announced, I realized that testifying in war crime trials is but a futile undertaking.

I therefore beg of you Sir, to exempt me in the future from the obligation of testifying before the Supreme Tribunal.

I cannot step up to the witness stand once again because I feel an irrepressible desire to enter the courtroom with a weapon in my hand, and shoot at the accused, no matter what the consequences would be.

Let us picture the situation in the reverse. Let us imagine a German courtroom with German judges administering justice to the crew of a Polish concentration camp, where thousands of Ger-

mans had perished under conditions such as prevailed in Oswiecim. We know—and who could forget—what the Germans are capable of inflicting upon people whom they deem their enemies. Not only the families of the defendants, but the villages where they were hiding would be condemned to years of reprisals and torture, without a trial, without conviction — *zur Vernichtung*.

We are writing history today. That history will show that the Anglo-Saxons will pay dearly for their leniency towards the Nazis. But we, we shall pay tenfold for every error we commit.

It was the Germans who introduced the concept of collective responsibility. For one woman who did not stand straight enough at a roll-call, thousands had to kneel for hours, holding stones in their uplifted palms. No, I cannot forget them. They are still there, their shadows still kneel among the empty barracks, their uplifted arms await justice to be done.

What are 15 years in prison?

For us every minute in Oswiecim was fraught with death in a thousand shapes. Is it just retribution to send those criminals to a prison which to us, who were behind barbed wires, seemed an enviable abode for which we longed? I am not at all sure that Orlowska or Weber will never again join the ranks of the killers.

Sir, the motive which prompts me to address these lines to you

of a twofold nature: First it is my ever-present sense of solidarity with the men and women who perished in concentration camps. And next it is my fear for this coming generation. I am afraid that before these children have time enough to grow up the Germans will gather enough strength to sample them to the ground. I do not call for revenge, I ask for justice. My letter does not signify disobedience to the nation's supreme organ of justice. It will continue to serve to the best of my ability the cause which has become paramount in my life. But do not let me stand in the courtroom again. Let the millions of murdered victims testify for themselves, let the silence of Oswiecim speak.

After the Krakow verdict, we the one-time prisoners feel that

it would have been better to do what so many desperate comrades of ours had done: it would have been better to walk into the charged wires than return to life and champion a lost cause.

In the name of those who can no longer speak because they are about to die, and in the name of those whose blanched bones are scattered over the grounds of Birkenau I speak out in protest against that verdict. I protest in the name of the orphans whose fathers and mothers did not return from the concentration camps to bear testimony. I protest in the name of the prisoners of all nationalities who suffered death in the gas chambers. I protest in the name of the infants whom no one knew because they had no names but only numbers.

AMERICA ÜBER ALLES

Read BASES AND EMPIRE by George Marion, published by Prompt Press, 25 West 44th St., New York, N. Y. This book is a splendid documentation of American aggression throughout the world. If ever there was a piece of vital literature BASES AND EMPIRE is it. The Big Press refuses advertisements for this book. Cut through the nylon curtain and read it. It may save your life and the lives of your children.

AMERICA'S BURNING SHAME

By HOWARD FAST

In a sense, it is presumptuous of me to attempt to speak to all the millions of good people who inhabit this land. For many months now, almost all of our newspapers have been closed to me; the magazines, too, and the radio as well. To slander a man; then to permit him no answer, no defense; there is the simple rule of "free press" in today's America.

Yet I would be remiss indeed if I did not raise my voice concerning the refusal, yesterday, of the United States Supreme Court to hear the appeal of the Board of the Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee. This is not a time for silence and forbearance.

In a few days, eleven men and women will go to prison. Their crime, for which they are being punished, is twofold. Firstly, they are anti-fascists; secondly, they have devoted years of effort to healing the sick, to feeding the hungry, aiding the lame and the halt who have fought for Republican Spain. For this, they are branded as criminals.

For two years, we, the Board of the Joint Anti-fascist Refugee Committee, have been hounded and persecuted and questioned, *and no other facts but those I list above emerged.*

Hundred of pages of sworn committee and court testimony have been taken. *Yet no other facts but those I list above emerged.*

There are those who say we are foreign agents. They lie in their teeth! There are those who say we are un-American. I call them un-American—for I know of no better Americans than my fel-

low members of this Board, no more loyal, no more devoted to those splendid principles that once made the very name *America* such a good sound in the ears of all men.

That we are going to jail is not a matter of great consequence. We personally accepted these jail sentences rather than surrender our principles and the principles of our nation to the ethics of the Un-American Committee. But the reasons why we go to jail are a matter of great—indeed tragic—consequence to all Americans.

For, with our imprisonment, anti-fascism becomes a crime under the law of the land. Charity becomes a crime. To aid the sick and the hungry becomes a crime—if the politics of those you aid are not the politics of the Un-American Committee.

This is the burning, terrible shame of America today! This is what we cannot and must not accept! I need not and will not apologize for my native land. I know it too well and love it too deeply. Tens of millions of you have read my books; I need not testify to you that I have never written a word except out of love and concern and respect for the land which gave me birth and sustenance. I cannot remain silent while a group of evil men attempt to make that land an abomination in the eyes of free people everywhere.

My voice will be heard. The voices of the ten brave men and women whose sentence I share will be heard. And yours must be heard, too—for this is a long step toward the beginning of the awful night, that terrible and inhuman night which has descended upon so many nations and which men call *fascism*.

AGREEMENT TO KILL ISRAEL

By Kenneth Leslie

When Jews appease their oppressors they are called bootlickers, provoking the very anti-Semitism they appease.

When Jews fight for their rights they are called troublemakers, provoking the anti-Semitism they fight.

There is nothing the Jew can do to please this beautiful "Christian" world except to disappear from the face of the earth.

Israel is more than home, a country, a flag. Israel is the Jew's answer to history. More than nationhood, Israel is manhood. His own sovereign state is the **least** the Jew can accept from history. Furthermore this Israel is Christianity's debt to humanity for the superstitious stupidity of the Crusades, and for the shameful history of Christian Europe's oppression of the Jews.

The debt is long deferred. To tell the truth we are squealing on the debt. Squealing here in America where money-blinded bankers sit in the driver's seat and in Britain where their criminally silly stooges carry the ball for the anti-Christ who under Christian auspices attacks the infant state.

THE PROTESTANT presses the fight against the British end of the "agreement to kill Israel" because Britain is **the only vulnerable link** in the iniquitous plot against the peace and security of the world.